THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

VOL. III.



HISTORY
OF THE
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EMPEROR CHARLES V.

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THE

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BOOK VII.

THE calamities which the Emperor ſuffered in his unfortunate enterprize againſt Algiers were great; and the account of theſe, which augmented in proportion as it ſpread at a greater diſtance from the ſcene of his diſaſters, encouraged Francis to begin hoſtilities, on which he had been for ſome time reſolved. But he did not think it prudent, to produce as the motives of this reſolution, either his ancient pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan, or the Emperor's diſingenuity in violating his repeated promiſes with regard to the reſtitution of that country. The former might have been a

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1541. Renewal of hoſtilities by Francis, and his motives for it,

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good reaſon againſt concluding the truce of Nice, but was none for breaking it; the latter could not be urged without expoſing his own credulity as much as the Emperor's want of integrity. A violent and unwarrantable action of one of the Imperial generals furniſhed him with a reaſon to juſtify his taking arms, which was of greater weight than either of theſe, and ſuch as would have rouzed him, if he had been as deſirous of peace, as he was eager for war. Francis, by ſigning the treaty of truce at Nice, without conſulting Solyman, gave (as he foreſaw) great offence to that haughty Monarch, who conſidered an alliance with him as an honour of which a Chriſtian prince had cauſe to be proud. The French King's friendly interview with the Emperor in Provence, followed by ſuch extraordinary appearances of union and confidence as accompanied Charles's reception in France, induced the Sultan to ſuſpect that the two rivals had at laſt forgotten their ancient enmity, in order that they might form ſuch a general confederacy againſt the Ottoman power, as had been long wiſhed for in Chriſtendom and often attempted in vain. Charles, with his uſual art, endeavoured to confirm and ſtrengthen theſe ſuſpicions, by inſtructing his emiſſaries at Conſtantinople as well as in thoſe courts with which Solyman held any intelligence, to repreſent the concord between him and Francis to be ſo entire, that their ſentiments, views and purſuits, would be the ſame for the future[a]. It was not without difficulty that Francis effaced theſe impreſſions; but the addreſs of Rincon, the French ambaſſador at the Porte, together with the manifeſt advantage of carrying on hoſtilities againſt the houſe of Auſtria in concert with France,

[a] Mem. de Ribier. tom. 1. p. 502.

prevailed

prevailed at length on the Sultan to enter into a closer conjunction with Francis than ever. Rincon returned into France, in order to communicate to his master a scheme of the Sultan's for gaining the concurrence of the Venetians in their operations against the common enemy. Solyman having lately concluded a peace with that republic, to which the mediation of Francis, and the good-offices of Rincon had greatly contributed, thought it not impossible to allure the senate by such advantages, as, together with the example of the French Monarch, might overbalance any scruples arising either from decency or caution that could operate on the other side. Francis, warmly approving of this measure, dispatched Rincon back to Constantinople, and directing him to go by Venice along with Fregoso a Genoese exile whom he appointed his ambassador to that republic, empowered them to negotiate the matter with the senate, to whom Solyman had sent an envoy for the same purpose [b]. The marquis del Guasto, governor of the Milanese, an officer of great abilities, but capable of attempting and executing the most atrocious actions, got intelligence of the motions and destination of these ambassadors. As he knew how much his master wished to discover the intentions of the French King, and of what consequence it was to retard the execution of his measures, he employed some soldiers belonging to the garrison of Pavia to lie in wait for Rincon and Fregoso as they sailed down the Po, who murdered them and most of their attendants and seized their papers. Upon receiving an account of this barbarous outrage, committed, during the subsistence of truce, against persons held sacred by the most uncivilized nations, Francis's grief for the unhappy fate of

The murder of his ambassadors his pretext for this.

[b] Hist. de Venet. de Purata, iv. 125.

BOOK VII. 1541. two ſervants whom he loved and truſted, his uneaſineſs at the interruption of his ſchemes by their death, and every other paſſion were ſwallowed up and loſt in the indignation which this inſult on the honour of his crown excited. He exclaimed loudly againſt Guaſto, who, having drawn upon himſelf all the infamy of aſſaſſination without making any diſcovery of importance, as the ambaſſadors had left their inſtructions and other papers of conſequence behind them, now boldly denied his being acceſſary in any wiſe to the crime. He ſent an ambaſſador to the Emperor to demand ſuitable reparation for an indignity, which no prince, how inconſiderable ſoever or puſillanimous, could tamely endure: And when Charles, impatient at that time to ſet out on his African expedition, endeavoured to put him off with an evaſive anſwer, he appealed to all the courts in Europe, ſetting forth the heinouſneſs of the injury, the ſpirit of moderation with which he had applied for redreſs, and the iniquity of the Emperor in diſregarding this juſt requeſt.

NOTWITHSTANDING the confidence with which Guaſto aſſerted his own innocence, the accuſations of the French gained greater credit than all his proteſtations; and Bellay, the French commander in Piedmont, procured, at length, by his induſtry and addreſs, ſuch a minute detail of the tranſaction, with the teſtimony of ſo many of the parties concerned, as amounted almoſt to a legal proof of the marquis's guilt. In conſequence of this opinion of the publick, confirmed by ſuch ſtrong evidence, Francis's complaints were univerſally allowed to be well founded, and the ſteps he took towards renewing hoſtilities

were aſcribed not merely to ambition or reſentment, but to the unavoidable neceſſity of vindicating the honour of his crown [c]. BOOK VII. 1541.

BUT how juſt ſoever Francis might eſteem his own cauſe, he did not truſt ſo much to that, as to neglect the proper precautions for gaining other allies beſides the Sultan, by whoſe aid he might counterbalance the Emperor's ſuperior power. But his negociations to this effect were attended with very little ſucceſs. Henry VIII. more and more bent upon ſchemes againſt Scotland, which he knew would at once diſſolve his union with France, was inclinable rather to take part with the Emperor than to contribute in any degree towards favouring the operations againſt him. The Pope adhered inviolably to his antient ſyſtem of neutrality. The Venetians, notwithſtanding Soliman's ſolicitations, imitated the Pope's example. The Germans, ſatisfied with the religious liberty which they enjoyed found it more their intereſt to gratify than to irritate the Emperor; ſo that the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, who on this occaſion were firſt drawn in to intereſt themſelves in the quarrels of the more potent Monarchs of the ſouth, and the duke of Cleves, who had a diſpute with the Emperor about the poſſeſſion of Gueldres, were the only confederates Francis ſecured. But the dominions of the two former lay at ſuch a diſtance, and the power of the latter was ſo inconſiderable, that he gained little by their alliance.

FRANCIS, however, ſupplied all defects by his own activity. Being afflicted at this time with a diſtemper, the effect of his

Francis's induſtry in preparing for war.

[c] Bellay, 367, &c. Jovii Hiſt. lib. 40. 268.

irregular

Book VII. 1541. irregular pleaſures, and which prevented his purſuing them with the ſame licentious indulgence, he applied to buſineſs with more than his uſual induſtry. The ſame cauſe which occaſioned this extraordinary attention to his affairs, rendered him moroſe and diſſatisfied with the miniſters whom he had hitherto employed. This accidental peeviſhneſs of temper being ſharpened by reflecting on the falſe ſteps into which he had lately been betrayed, and the inſults to which he had been expoſed, ſome of thoſe in whom he had hitherto placed the greateſt confidence felt the effects of this change in his temper, and were deprived of their offices. At laſt he diſgraced Montmorency himſelf, who had long directed affairs as well civil as military with all the authority of a miniſter no leſs beloved than truſted by his maſter; and Francis being fond of ſhewing that the fall of ſuch a powerful favourite did not affect the vigour or prudence of his adminiſtration, this was a new motive to redouble his diligence in preparing to open the war by ſome ſplendid and extraordinary effort.

1542. He brings five armies into the field.

FRANCIS accordingly brought into the field five armies. One to act in Luxembourg under the duke of Orleans, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine as his inſtructor in the art of war. Another commanded by the dauphin marched towards the frontiers of Spain. A third led by Van Roſſem the marſhal of Gueldres, and compoſed chiefly of the troops of Cleves, had Brabant allotted for the theatre of its operations. A fourth, of which the duke of Vendome was general, hovered on the borders of Flanders. The laſt, conſiſting of the forces cantoned in Piedmont, was deſtined for the admiral Annibaut. The dauphin and his brother were appointed to command where the chief exertion was intended, and the greateſt honour to be reaped; the

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the army of the former amounted to forty thouſand, that of the latter to thirty thouſand men. Nothing appears more ſurprizing than that Francis did not pour with theſe numerous and irreſiſtible armies into the Milaneſe, which had ſo long been the object of his wiſhes as well as enterprizes, and that he ſhould chuſe rather to turn almoſt his whole ſtrength into another direction, and towards new conqueſts. But the remembrance of the diſaſters which he had met with in his former expeditions into Italy, together with the difficulty of ſupporting a war carried on at ſuch a diſtance from his own dominions, had gradually abated his violent inclination to obtain footing in that country, and made him willing to try the fortune of his arms in another quarter. At the ſame time he expected to make ſuch a powerful impreſſion on the frontier of Spain, where there were few towns of any ſtrength, and no army aſſembled to oppoſe him, as might enable him to recover poſſeſſion of the county of Rouſillon lately diſmembered from the French crown, before Charles could bring into the field any force able to obſtruct his progreſs. The neceſſity of ſupporting his ally the duke of Cleves, and the hope of drawing a conſiderable body of ſoldiers out of Germany by his means, determined him to act with vigour in the Low-Countries.

June. Their operations.

The dauphin and duke of Orleans opened the campaign much about the ſame time, the former laying ſiege to Perpignan the capital of Rouſillon, and the latter entering Luxembourg. The duke of Orleans puſhed his operations with the greateſt rapidity and ſucceſs, one town falling after another, untill no place in that large dutchy remained in the Emperor's hands but Thionville. Nor could he have failed of over-running the adjacent

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jacent provinces with the ſame eaſe, if he had not voluntarily ſtopt ſhort in this career of victory. But a report prevailing that the Emperor had determined to hazard a battle in order to ſave Perpignan, on a ſudden the duke, prompted by youthful ardour, or moved, perhaps, by jealouſy of his brother, whom he both envied and hated, abandoned his own conqueſts, and haſtened towards Rouſillon in order to divide with him the glory of the victory.

On his departure ſome of his troops were diſbanded, others deſerted their colours, and the reſt, cantoned in the towns which he had taken, remained inactive. By this conduct, which leaves a diſhonorable imputation either on his underſtanding or his heart, or on both, he not only renounced whatever he could have hoped from ſuch a promiſing opening of the campaign, but gave the enemy an opportunity of recovering, before the end of ſummer, all the conqueſts which he had gained. On the Spaniſh frontier, the Emperor was not ſo inconſiderate as to venture on a battle the loſs of which might have endangered his kingdom. Perpignan, though poorly fortified, and briſkly attacked, having been largely ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions by the vigilance of Doria[d], was defended ſo long and ſo vigorouſly by the duke of Alva, the perſevering obſtinacy of whoſe temper fitted him admirably for ſuch ſervice, that at laſt the French, after a ſiege of three months, waſted by diſeaſes, repulſed in ſeveral aſſaults, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, relinquiſhed the undertaking, and retired into their own country[e]. Thus all Francis's mighty preparations, either from ſome defect in his

[d] Sigonii Vita A. Doriæ, p. 1191. [e] Sandov. Hiſt. tom. ii. 315.

own

own conduct, or from the ſuperior power and prudence of his rival, produced no effects that bore any proportion to his expence and efforts, or ſuch as gratified, in any degree, his own hopes, or anſwered the expectation of Europe. The only ſolid advantage of the campaign was the acquiſition of a few towns in Piedmont, which Bellay gained rather by ſtratagem and addreſs, than by the force of his arms [f]. BOOK VII. 1542.

MEANWHILE the Emperor and Francis, though both conſiderably exhauſted by ſuch great but indeciſive efforts, diſcovering no abatement of their mutual animoſity, employed all their attention, tried every expedient, and turned themſelves towards every quarter, in order to acquire new allies, together with ſuch a reinforcement of ſtrength as would give them the ſuperiority in the enſuing campaign. Charles, taking advantage of the terror and reſentment of the Spaniards, upon the ſudden invaſion of their country, prevailed on the Cortes of the ſeveral kingdoms to grant him ſubſidies with a more liberal hand than uſual. At the ſame time, he borrowed a large ſum from John King of Portugal, putting him in poſſeſſion by way of ſecurity for his being repayed, of the Molucca iſles in the Eaſt Indies, with the gainful commerce of precious ſpices, which that ſequeſtered corner of the globe yields. Not ſatisfied with this, he negociated a marriage between Philip his only ſon, now in his ſixteenth year, and Mary daughter of that Monarch, with whom her father, the moſt opulent prince in Europe, gave a large dower; and having likewiſe perſuaded the Cortes of Aragon and Valencia to recognize Philip as the heir of theſe 1543. Preparations for another campaign.

[f] Sandov. Hiſt. ii. 318. Bellay, 387, &c. Ferrer. 9. 237.

Book VII. crowns, he obtained from them the donative uſual on ſuch oc-
1543. caſions [z]. Theſe extraordinary ſupplies enabled him to make ſuch additions to his forces in Spain, that he could detach a great body into the Low-Countries, and yet reſerve as many as were ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom. Having thus provided for the ſecurity of Spain and committed the government of it
May. to his ſon, he ſailed for Italy, in his way to Germany. But how attentive ſoever to raiſe the funds for carrying on the war, or eager to graſp at any new expedient for that purpoſe, he was not ſo inconſiderate as to accept of the overture which Paul, knowing his neceſſities, artfully threw out to him. That ambitious Pontiff, no leſs ſagacious to diſcern, than watchful to ſeize opportunities of aggrandizing his family, ſollicited him to grant Octavio his grandchild, whom the Emperor had admitted to the honour of being his ſon-in-law, the inveſtiture of the dutchy of Milan, in return for which he promiſed ſuch a vaſt ſum of money as would have gone far towards ſupplying his preſent exigencies. But Charles, as well from unwillingneſs to alienate a province of ſo much value, as from diſguſt at the Pope, who had hitherto refuſed to join in the war againſt Francis, rejected the propoſal. His diſſatisfaction with Paul at that juncture was ſo great, that he even refuſed to approve his alienating Parma and Placentia from the patrimony of St. Peter, and ſettling them on his own ſon and grandſon as a fief to be held of the Holy ſee. As no other expedient for raiſing money among the Italian ſtates remained, he conſented to withdraw the garriſons which he had hitherto kept in the citadels of Florence and Leghorn, in conſideration for which,

[z] Ferreras, 9. 238. 241. Jovii Hiſt. lib. 42. 298. 6.

he received a large preſent from Coſmo de Medici, who by this means ſecured his own independance and got poſſeſſion of two forts, which were juſtly called the fetters of Tuſcany[h].

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The Emperor's negociations with Henry VIII.

But Charles, while he ſeemed to have turned his whole attention towards raiſing the ſums neceſſary for defraying the expences of the year, had not been negligent of objects more diſtant, though no leſs important, and had concluded a league offenſive and defenſive with Henry VIII, from which he derived, in the end, greater advantage than from all his other preparations. Several ſlight circumſtances, which have already been mentioned, had begun to alienate the affections of that Monarch from Francis his preſent ally, and new incidents of greater moment had occurred to increaſe his diſguſt and animoſity. Henry, deſirous of eſtabliſhing an uniformity in religion in Great Britain, as well as fond of making proſelytes to his own opinions, had formed a ſcheme of perſuading his nephew the King of Scotland to renounce the Pope's ſupremacy, and to adopt the ſame ſyſtem of reformation which he had introduced into England. This meaſure he purſued with his uſual eagerneſs and impetuoſity, making ſuch advantageous overtures to James, whom he conſidered as not over ſcrupulouſly attached to any religious tenets, that he ſcarce doubted of ſucceſs. His propoſitions were accordingly received in ſuch a manner that he flattered himſelf with having gained his point. But the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics, foreſeeing the ruin of the church to be the conſequence of the King's union with England; and

Henry's rupture with France and Scotland.

[h] Adriani Iſtoria i. 195. Sleid. 312. Jovii Hiſt. lib. 43. p. 301. Vita di Coſ. Medici di Baldini, p. 34.

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the partizans of France, no leſs convinced that it would put an end to the influence of that crown upon the publick councils of Scotland, combined together, and by their inſinuations defeated Henry's ſcheme at the very moment when he expected it to have taken effect. Too haughty to brook ſuch a diſappointment, which he imputed as much to the arts of the French as to the levity of the Scottiſh Monarch, he took arms againſt Scotland, threatening to ſubdue the kingdom, ſince he could not gain the friendſhip of its King. At the ſame time, his reſentment at Francis quickened his negociations with the Emperor, an alliance with whom he was now as forward to accept as the other could be to offer it. During this war with Scotland, and before the concluſion of his negociations with Charles, James V. died, leaving his crown to Mary his only daughter, an infant a few days old. Upon this event, Henry altered at once his whole ſyſtem with regard to Scotland, and abandoning all thoughts of conquering it, aimed at what was more advantageous as well as practicable, an union with that kingdom by a marriage between Edward his only ſon and the young Queen. But here, too, he apprehended a vigorous oppoſition from the French faction in Scotland, which began to beſtir itſelf in order to thwart the meaſure. The neceſſity of cruſhing this party among the Scots, and of preventing Francis from furniſhing them any effectual aid, confirmed Henry's reſolution of breaking with France, and puſhed him on to put a finiſhing hand to the treaty of confederacy with the Emperor.

February 11. Alliance between Charles and Henry.

In this league were contained firſt of all, articles for ſecuring their future amity and mutual defence; then were enumerated the demands which they were reſpectively to make upon Francis;

tis; and the plan of their proceedings was fixed, if he ſhould refuſe to grant them ſatisfaction. They agreed to require, that Francis ſhould not only renounce his alliance with Solyman, which had been the ſource of infinite calamities to Chriſtendom, but alſo that he ſhould make reparation for the damages which that unnatural union had occaſioned; that he ſhould reſtore Burgundy to the Emperor; that he ſhould deſiſt immediately from hoſtilities, and leave Charles at leiſure to oppoſe the common enemy of the Chriſtian faith; and that he ſhould immediately pay the ſums due to Henry, or put ſome towns in his hands as ſecurity to that effect. If, within forty days, he did not comply with theſe demands, they then engaged to invade France each with twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and not to lay down their arms until they had recovered Burgundy, together with the towns on the Somme, for the Emperor, and Normandy and Guienne, or even the whole realm of France, for Henry[1]. Their heralds, accordingly, ſet out with theſe haughty requiſitions; but not being permitted to enter France could not perform their commiſſion, and the two Monarchs held themſelves fully entitled to execute whatever was ſtipulated in their treaty.

Francis's negociations with Solyman.

FRANCIS on his part was not leſs diligent in preparing for the approaching campaign. Having early obſerved the ſymptoms of Henry's diſguſt and alienation, and finding all his endeavours to ſooth and reconcile him ineffectual, he knew his temper too well not to expect that open hoſtilities would quickly follow upon this ceſſation of friendſhip. For this reaſon he redoubled his endeavours to obtain from Solyman ſuch aid as might counterbalance the great acceſſion of ſtrength which the

[1] Rym. xiv. 768. Herb. 238.

Book VII. 1543. Emperor would receive by his alliance with England. In order to ſupply the place of his two ambaſſadors murdered by Guaſto, he ſent as his envoy firſt to Venice, and then to Conſtantinople, Paulin, a captain of foot, a man of a daring active ſpirit, and on account of theſe qualities thought worthy of this ſervice, to which he was recommended by Bellay, who had trained him to the arts of negociation, and made trial of his talents and addreſs on ſeveral occaſions. Nor did he belie the opinion conceived of his courage and abilities. Haſtening to Conſtantinople, without regarding the dangers to which he was expoſed, he urged his maſter's demands with ſuch boldneſs, and availed himſelf of every circumſtance with ſuch dexterity, that he removed all the Sultan's own difficulties. He ſilenced likewiſe ſome of the Baſſas, who either ſwayed by opinion, or having been gained by the Emperor, whoſe emiſſaries had made their way even into that court, had declared in the Divan againſt acting in concert with France [k]. At laſt he obtained orders for Barbaroſſa to ſail with a powerful fleet, and to regulate all his operations by the directions of the French King. Francis was not equally ſucceſsful in his attempts to gain the princes of the Empire. The extraordinary rigour with which he thought it neceſſary to puniſh ſuch of his ſubjects as had embraced the proteſtant opinions, in order to give ſome notable evidence of his own zeal for the Catholick faith, and to wipe off the imputations to which he was liable from his confederacy with the Turks, placed an inſuperable barrier between him and ſuch of the Germans as intereſt and inclination would have prompted moſt readily to join him [l]. His chief advantage, however, over the Emperor

[k] Sandov. Hiſtor. tom. ii. 346. Jovii Hiſt. lib. 41. 285, &c. 300, &c. Brantome.

[l] Seck. lib. iii. 403.

he

he derived on this, as on other occaſions, from the contiguity of his dominions, as well as from the extent of the royal authority in France, which exempted him from all the delays and diſappointments unavoidable wherever popular aſſemblies provide for the expences of government by occaſional and frugal ſubſidies. Hence his domeſtick preparations were always carried on with vigour, and rapidity, while thoſe of the Emperor, unleſs when quickened by ſome foreign ſupply, or ſome temporary expedient, were to the laſt degree ſlow and dilatory.

Operations in the Low-Countries.

LONG before any army was in readineſs to oppoſe him, Francis took the field in the Low-Countries, againſt which he turned the whole weight of the war. He made himſelf maſter of Landrecy, which he determined to keep as the key to the whole province of Hainault; and ordered it to be fortified with great care. Turning from thence to the right, he entered the dutchy of Luxembourg, and found it in the ſame defenceleſs ſtate as in the former year. Meanwhile, the Emperor, having drawn together an army compoſed of all the different nations, ſubject to his government, entered the territories of the Duke of Cleves, on whom he had vowed to inflict exemplary vengeance. This prince, whoſe conduct and ſituation were ſimilar to that of Robert de la Mark in the firſt war between Charles and Francis, reſembled him likewiſe in his fate. Unable with his feeble army, to face the Emperor, who advanced at the head of forty-four thouſand men, he retired at his approach; and the Imperialiſts being at liberty to act as they pleaſed, immediately inveſted Duren. That town, though gallantly defended, was won by aſſault, all the inhabitants put to the ſword, and the place itſelf reduced to aſhes. This dreadful

The Emperor becomes maſter of the Dutchy of Cleves. Auguſt 24.

Book VII. 1543. ful example of ſeverity ſtruck the people of the country with ſuch general terror, that all the other towns, even ſuch as were capable of reſiſtance, ſent their keys to the Emperor; and before a body of French detached to his aſſiſtance could come up, the duke himſelf was obliged to make his ſubmiſſion to Charles in the moſt abject manner. Being admitted into the Imperial preſence, he kneeled together with eight of his principal ſubjects, and implored mercy. The Emperor allowed him to remain in that ignominious poſture, and eyeing him with an haughty and implacable look, without deigning to anſwer a ſingle word, remitted him to his miniſters. The conditions, however, which they preſcribed were not ſo rigorous as he had reaſon to have expected after ſuch a reception. He

September 7. was obliged to renounce his alliance with France and Denmark; to reſign all his pretenſions to the dutchy of Gueldres; to enter into perpetual amity with the Emperor and King of the Romans. In return for which all his hereditary dominions were reſtored, except two towns which the Emperor kept as pledges of his fidelity during the continuance of the war, and he was re-inſtated in his privileges as a prince of the Empire. Not long after Charles, as a proof of the ſincerity of his reconcilement, gave him in marriage one of the daughters of his brother Ferdinand [m].

Beſieges Landrecy. HAVING thus chaſtiſed the preſumption of the Duke of Cleves, detached one of his allies from Francis, and added to his dominions in the Low-Countries a conſiderable province which lay contiguous to them, Charles advanced towards Hainault, and laid ſiege to Landrecy. There, as the firſt fruits

[m] Haræi. Annal. Brabant, t. 1. 628. Recueil des Traitez, t. ii. 226.

of

of his alliance with Henry, he was joined by ſix thouſand Engliſh under Sir John Wallop. The garriſon, conſiſting of vetcran troops commanded by de la Lande and Deſſé, two officers of reputation, made a vigorous reſiſtance. Francis approached with all his forces to relieve the place; Charles covered the ſiege; both were determined to hazard an engagement; and all Europe expected to ſee this conteſt, which had continued ſo long, decided at laſt by a battle between two great armies led by them in perſon. But the ground which ſeparated their two camps was ſuch, as put the diſadvantage manifeſtly on his ſide who ſhould venture to attack, and neither of them choſe to run that riſque: amidſt a variety of movements, in order to draw the enemy into this ſnare, or to avoid it themſelves, Francis, with admirable conduct, and equal good fortune, threw firſt a ſupply of freſh troops, and then a convoy of proviſions into the town, ſo that the Emperor, deſpairing of ſucceſs, withdrew into winter quarters [n] in order to preſerve his army from being entirely ruined by the rigour of the ſeaſon. Book VII. 1543.

MEANWHILE, Solyman fulfilled his engagements to the French King with great punctuality. He himſelf marched into Hungary with a numerous army, and as the princes of the Empire made no great effort to ſave a country which Charles, by employing his whole force againſt Francis, ſeemed willing to ſacrifice, there was no appearance of any body of troops to oppoſe his progreſs. He beſieged, one after another, Quinque Eccleſiæ, Alba and Gran, the three moſt conſiderable towns in the kingdom, of which Ferdinand kept poſſeſſion. The firſt was taken by ſtorm; the other two ſurren- November. Solyman invades Hungary.

[n] Bellay, 405, &c.

Book VII. dered; and the whole kingdom, a ſmall corner excepted, was ſubjected to the Turkiſh yoke [o]. About the ſame time, Barbaroſſa ſailed with a fleet of an hundred and ten gallies, and coaſting along the ſhore of Calabria, made a deſcent at Rheggio which he plundered and burnt; and advancing from thence to the mouth of the Tiber he ſtopt there to water. The citizens of Rome, ignorant of his deſtination, and filled with terror, began to fly with ſuch general precipitation, that the city would have been left deſerted, if they had not reſumed courage upon letters from Polin the French envoy, aſſuring them that no violence or injury would be offered by the Turks to any ſtate in alliance with the King his maſter [p]. From Oſtia Barbaroſſa ſailed to Marſeilles, and being joined by the French fleet with a body of land forces on board under the count d'Enguien, a gallant young prince of the houſe of Bourbon, they directed their courſe towards Nice, the ſole retreat of the unfortunate duke of Savoy. There to the aſtoniſhment and ſcandal of all Chriſtendom, the Lilies of France and Creſcent of Mahomet appeared in conjunction againſt a fortreſs on which the Croſs of Savoy was diſplayed. The town, however, was bravely defended againſt their combined force by Montfort a Savoyard gentleman, who ſtood a general aſſault, and repulſed the enemy with great loſs, before he retired into the caſtle. That fort ſituated upon a rock, on which the artillery made no impreſſion, and which could not be undermined, he held out ſo long, that Doria had time to approach with his fleet, and the marquis del Guaſto to march with a body of troops from Milan. Upon intelligence of this, the French and Turks raiſed the ſiege [q]; and Francis had not

1543. Barbaroſſa's deſcent on Italy.

Auguſt 10.

September 8.

[o] Iſtuanhaff. Hiſtor. Hung. l. 15. 167.
[p] Jovii Hiſt. l. 43. 304, &c. Pallavic. 160.
[q] Guichenon hiſtoire de Savoye, t. 1. p. 651. Bellay, 425, &c.

even

even the conſolation of ſucceſs, to render the infamy, which he drew on himſelf by calling in ſuch an auxiliary, more tolerable.

Preparations for a new campaign.

FROM the ſmall progreſs of either party during this campaign, it was obvious to what a length the war might be drawn out between two princes, whoſe power was ſo equally ballanced, and who by their own talents or activity, could ſo vary and multiply their reſources. The trial they had now made of each others ſtrength might have taught them the imprudence of perſiſting in a war, wherein there was greater appearance of their diſtreſſing their own dominions than of conquering thoſe of their adverſary, and ſhould have diſpoſed both to wiſh for peace. If Charles and Francis had been influenced by conſiderations of intereſt or prudence alone, this, without doubt, muſt have been the manner in which they would have reaſoned, but the perſonal animoſity, which mingled itſelf in all their quarrels, had grown to be ſo violent and implacable, that for the pleaſure of gratifying it, they diſregarded every thing elſe; and were infinitely more ſollicitous how to hurt their enemy, than how to ſecure what would be of advantage to themſelves. No ſooner then did the ſeaſon force them to ſuſpend hoſtilities, than, without paying any attention to the Pope's repeated endeavours or paternal exhortations to re-eſtabliſh peace, they began to provide for the operations of the next year with new vigour, and an activity increaſing with their hatred. Charles turned his chief attention towards gaining the princes of the Empire, and endeavoured to rouſe the formidable but unweildy ſtrength of the Germanick body againſt Francis. In order to underſtand the propriety of the ſteps which he took for that purpoſe,

Affairs of Germany.

Book VII. 1543. it is neceſſary to review the chief tranſactions in that country ſince the diet of Ratiſbon in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty one.

Maurice of Saxony ſucceeds his father.

Much about the time that aſſembly broke up, Maurice ſucceeded his father Henry in the government of that part of Saxony which belonged to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family. This young prince, then only in his twentieth year, had, even at that early period, begun to diſcover the great talents which qualified him for acting ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part in the affairs of Germany. As ſoon as he entered upon the adminiſtration, he ſtruck out into ſuch a new and ſingular path, as ſhewed that he aimed, from the beginning, at ſomething great and uncommon. Though zealouſly attached to the Proteſtant opinions both from education and principle, he refuſed to accede to the league of Smalkalde, being determined, as he ſaid, to maintain the purity of religion which was the original object of that confederacy, but not to entangle himſelf in the political intereſts or combinations to which it had given riſe. At the ſame time, foreſeeing a rupture between Charles and the confederates of Smalkalde, and perceiving which of them was moſt likely to prevail in the conteſt, inſtead of that jealouſy and diſtruſt which the other Proteſtants expreſſed of all the Emperor's deſigns, he affected to place in him an unbounded confidence; and courted his favour with the utmoſt aſſiduity. When the other Proteſtants, in the year fifteen hundred and forty two, either declined aſſiſting Ferdinand in Hungary, or afforded him reluctant and feeble aid, Maurice marched thither in perſon, and rendered himſelf conſpicuous by his zeal and courage. From the ſame motive, he had led to the Emperor's aſſiſtance, dur-

The views and conduct of this young Prince.

ing

ing the former campaign a body of his own troops; and the gracefulneſs of his perſon, his dexterity in all military exerciſes, together with his intrepidity which courted and delighted in dangers, did not diſtinguiſh him more in the field, than his great abilities and inſinuating addreſs won upon the Emperor's confidence and favour [a]. While by this conduct, which appeared extraordinary to thoſe who held the ſame opinions with him concerning religion, Maurice endeavoured to pay court to the Emperor, he began to diſcover ſome degree of jealouſy of his couſin the Elector of Saxony. This, which proved in the ſequel ſo fatal to the Elector, had almoſt occaſioned an open rupture between them; and ſoon after Maurice's acceſſion to the government, they both took arms with equal rage, upon account of a diſpute about the right of juriſdiction over a paultry town ſituated on the Moldaw. They were prevented, however, from coming to blows by the mediation of the Landgrave of Heſſe, whoſe daughter Maurice had married, as well as by the powerful and authoritative admonitions of Luther [b].

Book VII. 1545.

MEANWHILE the Pope, though extremely irritated at the Emperor's conceſſions to the Proteſtants in the diet of Ratiſbon, was ſo warmly ſolicited on all hands, by ſuch as were moſt devoutly attached to the ſee of Rome, no leſs than by thoſe whoſe fidelity or deſigns he ſuſpected, to ſummon a general council, that he found it impoſſible to avoid any longer calling that aſſembly. The impatience for its meeting, and the expectations of great effects from its deciſions ſeemed to grow in proportion to the difficulty of obtaining it. He ſtill adhered, however, to his original reſolution of holding it in ſome town of

The Pope propoſes to hold a general council at Trent.

[a] Sleid. 317. Seck. l. iii. 371, 386, 428. [b] Sleid. 292. Seck. l. iii. 403.

Italy,

Book VII. 1543. Italy, where, by the number of eccleſiaſticks, retainers to his court, and depending on his favour, who could repair to it without difficulty or expence, he might influence and even direct all its proceedings. This propoſition, though often rejected by the Germans, he inſtructed his nuncio to the diet held March 3. at Spires, in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty two to renew once more; and if he found it gave no greater ſatisfaction than formerly, he empowered him, as a laſt conceſſion, to propoſe for the place of meeting, Trent a city in the Tyrol, ſubject to the King of the Romans, and ſituated on the confines between Germany and Italy. The Catholick princes in the diet, after giving it as their opinion that the council might have been held with greater advantage in Ratiſbon, Cologne, or ſome of the great cities in the Empire, approved of the place which the Pope had named. The Proteſtants unanimouſly expreſſed their diſſatisfaction, declaring that they would pay no regard to a council held without the precincts of the Empire, called by the Pope's authority, and in which he aſſumed the right of preſiding [t].

May 22. 1542. Summons it to meet.

The Pope, without taking any notice of their objections, publiſhed the bull of intimation, named three cardinals to preſide as his legates, and appointed them to repair to Trent before the firſt of November, the day he had fixed for opening the council. But if Paul had deſired the meeting of a council as ſincerely as he pretended, he would not have pitched on ſuch an improper time for calling it. Inſtead of that general union and tranquillity, without which the deliberations of a council could neither be conducted with ſecurity, nor attended with

[t] Sleid. 291. Seck. l. iii. 283.

authority,

authority, ſuch a fierce war was juſt kindled between the Emperor and Francis, as rendered it impoſſible for the eccleſiaſticks from many parts of Europe to reſort thither in ſafety. The legates, accordingly, remained ſeveral months at Trent without any perſons appearing, except a few prelates from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; upon which the Pope, in order to avoid the ridicule and contempt which this drew upon him from the enemies of the church, recalled them and prorogued the council *. 1543. Obliged to prorogued it.

UNHAPPILY for the authority of the Papal ſee, at the very time that the German Proteſtants took every occaſion of pouring contempt upon it, the Emperor and King of the Romans found it neceſſary not only to connive at their conduct, but to court their favour by repeated acts of indulgence. In the ſame diet of Spires, wherein they had proteſted in the moſt diſreſpectful terms againſt aſſembling a council at Trent, Ferdinand who depended on their aid for the defence of Hungary, not only permitted that proteſtation to be inſerted in the records of the diet, but renewed in their favour all the Emperor's conceſſions at Ratiſbon, adding to them whatever they could demand for their farther ſecurity. Among other particulars, he granted a ſuſpenſion of a decree of the Imperial chamber againſt the city of Goſlar, one of thoſe which had entered into the league of Smalkalde, on account of its having ſeized the eccleſiaſtical revenues within its domains, and enjoined Henry duke of Brunſwick to deſiſt from his attempts to carry that decree into execution. But Henry, a furious bigot, and no leſs obſtinate than raſh in all his undertakings, continuing to diſquiet the people The Emperor courts the Proteſtants.

* F. Paul p. 97. Sleid. 296.

of

BOOK VII. of Goſlar by his incurſions, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, that they might not ſuffer any member of the Smalkaldick body to be oppreſſed, aſſembled their forces, declared war in form againſt Henry, and in the ſpace of a few weeks ſtript him intirely of his dominions, and drove him as a wretched exile to take refuge in the court of Bavaria. By this act of vengeance, no leſs ſevere than ſudden, they filled all Germany with dread of their power, and the confederates of Smalkalde appeared, by this firſt effort of their arms, to be as prompt as capable to protect thoſe who had joined their aſſociation [x].

1543. Their vigorous proceedings.

EMBOLDENED by ſo many conceſſions in their favour, as well as by the progreſs which their opinions daily made, the princes of the league of Smalkalde took a ſolemn proteſt againſt the Imperial chamber, and declined its juriſdiction for the future, becauſe that court had not been viſited or reformed according to the decree of Ratiſbon, and continued to diſcover a moſt indecent partiality in all its proceedings. Not long after this, they ventured a ſtep farther, and proteſting againſt the receſs of a diet held at Nuremberg, which provided for the defence of Hungary, refuſed to furniſh their contingent for that purpoſe, unleſs the Imperial chamber were reformed, and full ſecurity granted them in every point with regard to religion [y].

April 23. 1543.

Diet at Spires. 1544. SUCH were the lengths to which the Proteſtants had proceeded, and ſuch their confidence in their own power, when

[x] Sleid. 296. Commemoratio ſuccincta cauſarum Belli, &c. a Smalcadicis contra Henr. Brunſw. ab iiſdem edita; ap Scardium, Tom. ii. 307.

[y] Sleid. 304, 307. Seck. l. iii. 404, 416.

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the Emperor returned from the Low-Countries, to hold a diet, which he had ſummoned to meet at Spires. The reſpect due to the Emperor, as well as the importance of the affairs which were to be laid before it, rendered this aſſembly extremely full. All the Electors, a great number of princes eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, with the deputies of moſt of the cities were preſent. Charles ſoon perceived that this was not a time to offend the jealous ſpirit of the Proteſtants, by aſſerting in any high tone the authority and doctrines of the church, or by abridging in the ſmalleſt article, the liberty which they now enjoyed; but that, on the contrary, if he expected any ſupport from them, or wiſhed to preſerve Germany from inteſtine diſorders while he was engaged in a foreign war, he muſt ſooth them by new conceſſions, and a more ample extenſion of their religious privileges. He began, accordingly, with courting the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, the heads of the Proteſtant party, and by giving up ſome things in their favour, and granting liberal promiſes with regard to others, he ſecured himſelf from any danger of oppoſition on their part. Having aſcertained this capital point, he then ventured to addreſs the diet with greater freedom. He began by repreſenting his own zeal, and unwearied efforts with regard to two things moſt eſſential to Chriſtendom, the procuring of a general council in order to compoſe the religious diſſenſions which had unhappily ariſen in Germany, and the providing ſome proper means for checking the formidable progreſs of the Turkiſh arms. But that his pious endeavours had been entirely defeated by the unjuſtifiable ambition of the French King, who having wantonly kindled the flame of war in Europe, which had been ſo lately extinguiſhed by the truce of Nice, rendered it impoſſible for the fathers of the church to aſſemble in council, or to deliberate with ſecurity; and obliged

Book VII. 1543.

The Emperor ſollici's its aid againſt France.

Book VII. 1544. him to employ thoſe forces in his own defence, which with greater ſatisfaction to himſelf, as well as more honour to Chriſtendom, he would have turned againſt the Infidels. That Francis not thinking it enough to have called him off from oppoſing the Infidels, had, with unexampled impiety, invited them into the heart of Chriſtendom, and joining his arms to theirs, had openly attacked the Duke of Savoy a member of the Empire. That Barbaroſſa's fleet was now in one of the ports of France, waiting only the return of ſpring to carry terror and deſolation to the coaſt of ſome Chriſtian ſtate. That in ſuch a ſituation it was folly to think of diſtant expeditions againſt the Turk, or of marching to oppoſe his armies in Hungary, while ſuch a powerful ally received him into the centre of Europe, and gave him footing there. That prudence dictated to oppoſe, firſt of all, the neareſt and moſt imminent danger, and by humbling the power of France, to deprive Solyman of the advantages, which he derived from the unnatural confederacy formed between him and a Monarch, who ſtill arrogated the name of Moſt Chriſtian. That, in truth, a war againſt the French King and the Sultan ought to be conſidered as the ſame thing; and that every advantage gained over the former, was a ſevere and ſenſible blow to the latter. That, therefore, he now demanded their aid againſt Francis, not merely as an enemy of the Germanick body, or of him who was its head, but as an avowed ally of the Infidels, and a publick enemy to the Chriſtian name.

In order to give greater weight to this violent invective of the Emperor, the King of the Romans ſtood up, and related the rapid conqueſts of the Sultan in Hungary, occaſioned, as he ſaid, by the fatal neceſſity impoſed on his brother of employ-

ing

ing his arms againſt France; and the ambaſſadors of Savoy gave a detail of Barbaroſſa's operations at Nice, and of the ravages which he had committed on that coaſt. All theſe, added to the general indignation which Francis's unprecedented union with the Turks excited in Europe, made ſuch an impreſſion on the diet as the Emperor wiſhed, and diſpoſed moſt of the members to grant him ſuch effectual aid as he had demanded. The ambaſſadors Francis had ſent to explain the motives of his conduct, were not permitted to enter the bounds of the Empire; and the apology which they publiſhed for their maſter, vindicating his alliance with Solyman, by examples drawn from ſcripture, and the practice of Chriſtian princes, was little regarded by men, irritated already or prejudiced againſt him to ſuch a degree, as to be incapable of allowing their proper weight to any arguments in his behalf.

His vaſt conceſſions in order to gain the Proteſtants.

SUCH being the favourable diſpoſition of the Germans, Charles perceived that nothing could now obſtruct his gaining all that he aimed at, but the fears and jealouſies of the Proteſtants, which he determined to quiet by granting every thing, that the utmoſt ſolicitude of theſe paſſions could deſire for the ſecurity of their religion. With this view, he conſented to a receſs, whereby all the rigorous edicts hitherto iſſued againſt the Proteſtants were ſuſpended; a council either general or national to be aſſembled in Germany was declared neceſſary in order to re-eſtabliſh peace in the church; until one of theſe ſhould be held, (which the Emperor undertook to bring about as ſoon as poſſible) the free and publick exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion was authorized; the Imperial chamber was to give no moleſta-

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tion to the Proteſtants; and when the term, for which the preſent judges in that court were elected, ſhould expire, perſons duely qualified were then to be admitted as members, without any diſtinction on account of religion. In return for theſe extraordinary acts of indulgence, the Proteſtants concurred, with the other members of the diet, in declaring war againſt Francis in name of the Empire; in voting the Emperor a body of twenty-four thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, to be maintained at the publick expence for ſix months, and to be employed againſt France; and at the ſame time the diet impoſed a poll-tax to be levied throughout all Germany on every perſon without exception, for the ſupport of the war againſt the Turks.

And granted by the diet.

Charles's negociations with Denmark and England.

CHARLES, while he gave the greateſt attention to the minute and intricate detail of particulars neceſſary towards conducting the deliberations of a numerous and divided aſſembly to ſuch a ſucceſsful period, negociated a ſeparate peace with the King of Denmark, who, though he had hitherto performed nothing conſiderable in conſequence of his alliance with Francis, had it in his power, however, to make a formidable diverſion in favour of that monarch [z]. At the ſame time, he did not neglect proper applications to the King of England, in order to rouze him to more vigorous efforts againſt their common enemy. Little, indeed, was wanting to accompliſh this; for ſuch events had happened in Scotland as inflamed Henry to the moſt violent pitch of reſentment againſt Francis. Having concluded with the parliament of Scotland a treaty of marriage between

[z] Dumont Corps Diplom. t. iv. p. ii. p. 274.

his

his ſon and their young Queen, by which he reckoned himſelf ſecure of effecting the union of the two kingdoms, which had been long deſired, and often attempted without ſucceſs by his predeceſſors, Mary of Gniſe the Queen mother, cardinal Beatoun, and other partizans of France, found means not only to break off the match, but to alienate the Scottiſh nation entirely from the friendſhip of England, and to ſtrengthen its antient attachment to France. Henry, however, did not abandon an object of ſo much importance. As the humbling of Francis, beſides the pleaſure of taking revenge upon an enemy who had diſappointed a favourite meaſure, appeared the moſt effectual method of bringing the Scots to accept once more of the treaty which they had rejected, he was ſo fond of this ſcheme, that he was ready to ſecond whatever the Emperor could propoſe to be attempted againſt that monarch. The plan, accordingly, which they concerted, was ſuch as, if it had been punctually executed, muſt have ruined France in the firſt place, and would have augmented ſo prodigiouſly the Emperor's power and territories as might in the end have proved fatal to the liberties of Europe. They agreed to invade France each with an army of twenty-five thouſand men, and, without loſing time in beſieging the frontier towns, to advance directly towards the interior provinces, and to join their forces near Paris [a].

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MEANWHILE, Francis ſtood alone in oppoſition to all the enemies that Charles was muſtering againſt him. Solyman was the only ally who had not deſerted him; but the aſſiſtance he received from him had rendered him ſo odious to all Chriſten-

The French take the field in Piedmont.

[a] Herbert 245. Bellay, 448.

dom,

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dom, that he reſolved rather to forego all the advantages of his friendſhip, than to become, on that account, the object of general horror and deteſtation. For this reaſon, he diſmiſſed Barbaroſſa as ſoon as winter was over, who after ravaging the coaſts of Naples and Tuſcany returned to Conſtantinople. As Francis could not hope to equal the forces of his rival, he endeavoured to ſupply that defect by diſpatch, which was more in his power, and to get the ſtart of him in taking the field.

Inveſt Carignan.

Early in the ſpring the count d' Enguien inveſted Carignan, a town in Piedmont, which the marquis de Guaſto the Imperial general having ſurprized the former year conſidered as of ſo much importance, that he had fortified it at great expence. The count puſhed the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that Guaſto, fond of his own conqueſt, and ſeeing no other way of ſaving it from falling into the hands of the French, reſolved to hazard a battle in order to relieve it.

The Imperialiſts march to relieve it.

He began his march from Milan for this purpoſe, and as he was at no pains to conceal his intention, it was ſoon known in the French camp. Enguien, a gallant and enterprizing young man, wiſhed paſſionately to try the fortune of a battle; his troops deſired it with no leſs ardour; but the peremptory injunction of the King not to venture a general engagement, flowing from a prudent attention to the preſent ſituation of affairs, as well as from the remembrance of former diſaſters, tied up his hands. Unwilling, however, to abandon Carignan, when it was juſt ready to yield, and eager to diſtinguiſh his command by ſome memorable action, he diſpatched Monluc to court in order to lay before the King the advantages of fighting the enemy, and the hopes which he had of victory. The King referred the matter to the council; all the miniſters declared, one after another, againſt fighting, and ſupported

their

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their ſentiments by reaſons extremely plauſible. While they were delivering their opinions, Monluc, who was permitted to be preſent, diſcovered ſuch viſible and extravagant ſymptoms of impatience to ſpeak, as well as ſuch diſſatisfaction with what he heard, that Francis, diverted with his appearance, called on him to declare what he could offer in reply to ſentiments which ſeemed to be as juſt as they were general. Upon this, Monluc, a plain but ſpirited ſoldier, and of known courage, repreſented the good condition of the troops, their eagerneſs to meet the enemy in the field, their confidence in their officers, together with the everlaſting infamy which the declining of a battle would bring on the French arms; and urged his arguments with ſuch lively impetuoſity, and ſuch a flow of military eloquence, as gained over to his opinion, not only the King, naturally fond of daring actions, but ſeveral of the council. Francis catching the ſame enthuſiaſm which had animated his troops, ſuddenly ſtarted up, and having lifted his hands to heaven, and implored the divine protection and aid, he then addreſſed himſelf to Monluc, "Go, ſays he, return to Piedmont, and fight in the name of God[a]."

Battle of Ceriſoles.

No ſooner was it known that the King had given Enguien leave to fight the Imperialiſts, than ſuch was the martial ardour of the gallant and high ſpirited gentlemen of that age, that the court was quite deſerted, every perſon deſirous of reputation, or capable of ſervice, hurrying to Piedmont in order to ſhare, as volunteers, in the danger and glory of the action. Encouraged by the arrival of ſo many brave officers, Enguien immediately prepared for battle, nor did Guaſto decline the combat.

[a] Memoires de Monluc.

The

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The number of cavalry was almoſt equal, but the Imperial infantry exceeded the French by at leaſt ten thouſand men. They met near Ceriſoles, in an open plain, which afforded to neither any advantage of ground, and both had full time to form their army in proper order. The ſhock was ſuch as might have been expected between veteran troops, violent and obſtinate. The French cavalry running to the charge with their uſual vivacity bore down every thing that oppoſed them, but on the other hand, the ſteddy and diſciplined valour of the Spaniſh infantry having forced the body which they encountered to give way, victory remained in ſuſpence, ready to declare for which ever general could make the beſt uſe of that critical moment. Guaſto, engaged in that part of his army which was thrown into diſorder, and afraid of falling into the hands of the French whoſe vengeance he dreaded on account of the murder of Rincon and Fregoſo, loſt his preſence of mind, and forgot to order a large body of reſerve to advance; whereas Enguien, with admirable courage and equal conduct, ſupported, at the head of his gens d'armes, ſuch of his battalions as began to yield; and at the ſame time he ordered the Swiſs in his ſervice, who had been victorious wherever they fought, to fall upon the Spaniards. This motion proved deciſive. All that followed was confuſion and ſlaughter. The marquis de Guaſto wounded in the thigh, eſcaped only by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe. The victory of the French was complete, ten thouſand of the Imperialiſts being ſlain, and a conſiderable number, with all their tents, baggage and artillery, taken. On the part of the conquerors, their joy was without allay, a few only being killed, and among theſe no officer of diſtinction [b].

[b] Bellay, 429, &c. Memoires de Monluc. Jovii hiſt. l. 44. p. 327. 6.

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Effects of it.

THIS ſplendid action, beſides the reputation with which it was attended, delivered France from an imminent danger, as it ruined the army with which Guaſto had intended to invade the country between the Rhoſne and Saone, where there were neither fortified towns nor regular forces to oppoſe his progreſs. But it was not in Francis's power to purſue the victory with ſuch vigour as to reap the advantages which it might have yielded; for tho' the Milaneſe remained now almoſt defenceleſs; though the inhabitants, who had long murmured under the rigour of the Imperial government, were ready to throw off the yoke; though Enguien, flushed with ſucceſs, urged the King to ſeize this happy opportunity of recovering a country, the acquiſition of which had been long his favourite object; yet as the Emperor and King of England were preparing to break in upon the oppoſite frontier of France with ſuch ſuperior force, it became neceſſary to ſacrifice all thoughts of conqueſt to the publick ſafety, and to recal twelve thouſand of Enguien's beſt troops to be employed in defence of the kingdom. Enguien's ſubſequent operations were, of conſequence, ſo languid and inconſiderable, that the reduction of Carignan and ſome other towns in Piedmont, was all he gained by his great victory at Ceriſoles [c].

Operations in the Low-Countries.

THE Emperor, as uſual, was late in taking the field, but he appeared, towards the beginning of June, at the head of an army more numerous, and better appointed than any which he had hitherto led againſt France. It amounted almoſt to fifty thouſand men, and part of it having reduced Luxembourg and ſome other towns in the Netherlands, before he himſelf joined it,

[c] Bellay, 438, &c.

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he now marched with the whole towards the frontiers of Champagne. Charles, according to his agreement with the King of England, ought to have advanced directly towards Paris; and the dauphin, who commanded the only army to which Francis truſted for the ſecurity of his dominions, was in no condition to oppoſe him. But the ſucceſs with which the French had defended Provence in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, had taught them the moſt effectual method of diſtreſſing an invading enemy. Champagne, a country abounding more in vines than corn, was incapable of maintaining a great army, and before the Emperor's approach, whatever could be of any uſe to him had been carried off or deſtroyed. This rendered it neceſſary for him to be maſter of ſome places of ſtrength, in order to ſecure the convoys on which alone he now perceived that he muſt depend for ſubſiſtence; and he found the frontier towns ſo ill provided for defence, that he hoped it would not be a work either of much time or difficulty to reduce them. Accordingly Ligny and Commercy, which he firſt attacked, ſurrendered after a ſhort reſiſtance. He then inveſted St. Diſier, which, though it commanded an important paſs on the Marne, was deſtitute of every thing neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege. But the count de Sancerre and M. de la Lande, who had acquired ſuch reputation by the defence of Landrecy, generouſly threw themſelves into the town, and undertook to hold it out to the laſt extremity. The Emperor ſoon found how capable they were of making good their promiſe, and that he could not expect to take the town without beſieging it in form. This accordingly he undertook; and as it was his nature never to abandon any enterprize in which he had

The Emperor inveſts St. Diſier. July 8.

had once engaged, he perſiſted in it with an inconſiderate obſtinacy. Book VII. 1544.

THE King of England's preparations for the campaign were compleat long before the Emperor's; but as he did not chuſe, on the one hand, to encounter alone the whole power of France, and was unwilling, on the other, that his troops ſhould remain unactive, he took that opportunity of chaſtiſing the Scots, by ſending his fleet, together with a conſiderable part of his infantry, under the earl of Hertford, to invade their country. Hertford executed his commiſſion with vigour, plundered and burnt Edinburgh and Leith, laid waſte the adjacent country, and reimbarked his men with ſuch diſpatch, that they joined their ſovereign ſoon after his landing in France. When Henry arrived in that kingdom, he found the Emperor engaged in the ſiege of St. Diſier; an ambaſſador, however, whom he ſent to congratulate the Engliſh Monarch on his ſafe arrival on the continent, ſollicited him to march in terms of the treaty directly to Paris. But Charles had ſet his ally ſuch an ill example of fulfilling the conditions of their confederacy with exactneſs, that Henry, obſerving him employ his time and forces in taking towns for his own behoof, ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould not attempt the reduction of ſome places that lay conveniently for himſelf. Without paying any regard to the Emperor's remonſtrances, he immediately inveſted Bologne, and commanded the Duke of Norfolk to preſs the ſiege of Montreuil, which had been begun before his arrival, by a body of Flemings, in conjunction with ſome Engliſh troops. While Charles and Henry ſhewed ſuch attention each to his own intereſt, they both neglected the common cauſe; and, inſtead of the union and confidence requiſite towards conducting the great plan they had formed, they early diſ-

Henry VIII. inveſts Bologne.

July 14.

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covered a mutual jealouſy of each other, which, by degrees, begot diſtruſt, and ended in open hatred[d].

Gallant defence of St. Diſier.

MEANWHILE, Francis had, with unwearied induſtry, drawn together an army capable, as well from the number as from the valour of the troops, of making head againſt the enemy. But the dauphin, who ſtill acted as general, prudently declining a battle, the loſs of which would have endangered the kingdom, ſatisfied himſelf with harraſſing the Emperor with his light troops, cutting off his convoys, and laying waſte the country around him. Though extremely diſtreſſed by theſe operations, Charles ſtill preſſed the ſiege of St. Diſier, which Sancerre defended with aſtoniſhing fortitude and conduct. He ſtood repeated aſſaults, repulſing the enemy in them all; and undiſmayed even by the death of the brave de la Lande, who was killed by a cannon ball, he continued to ſhew the ſame bold countenance and obſtinate reſolution. At the end of five weeks, he was ſtill capable of holding out ſome time longer, when an artifice of Granvelle's induced him to ſurrender. That crafty politician, having intercepted the key to the cypher which the Duke of Guiſe uſed in communicating intelligence to Sancerre, forged a letter in his name authorizing Sancerre to capitulate, as the King, though highly ſatisfied with his behaviour, thought it imprudent to hazard a battle for his relief. This letter he conveyed into the town in a manner which could raiſe no ſuſpicion, and the governor fell into the ſnare. Even then, he obtained ſuch honourable conditions as his gallant defence merited, and among others a ceſſation of hoſtilities for eight

[d] Herbert.

days,

days, at the expiration of which he bound himſelf to open the gates, if Francis, during that time, did not attack the Imperial army, and throw freſh troops into the town [e]. Thus Sancerre, by detaining the Emperor ſo long before an inconſiderable place, afforded his ſovereign full time to aſſemble all his forces, and, what rarely falls to an officer in ſuch an inferior command, acquired the glory of having ſaved his country.

Auguſt 17. The Emperor penetrates into the heart of France.

As ſoon as St. Diſier ſurrendered, the Emperor advanced into the heart of Champagne, but Sancerre's obſtinate reſiſtance had damped his ſanguine hopes of penetrating to Paris, and led him ſeriouſly to reflect on what he might expect before towns of greater ſtrength, and defended by more numerous garriſons. At the ſame time, the procuring ſubſiſtence for his army was attended with great difficulty, which increaſed in proportion as he withdrew from his own frontier. He had loſt a great number of his beſt troops in the ſiege of St. Diſier, and many fell daily in ſkirmiſhes, which it was not in his power to avoid, though they waſted his army inſenſibly, without leading to any deciſive action. The ſeaſon advanced apace, and he had not yet the command either of a ſufficient extent of territory, or of any ſuch conſiderable town as rendered it ſafe to winter in the enemies country. Great arrears too, were due to his ſoldiers, who were upon the point of mutinying for their pay, while he knew not from what funds to ſatisfy them. All theſe conſiderations induced him to liſten to the overtures of peace which a Spaniſh Dominican, the confeſſor of his ſiſter the Queen of France, had ſecretly made to his confeſſor, a monk of the ſame order. In

[e] Brantome, tom. vi. 489.

conſequence

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consequence of this, plenipotentiaries were named on both sides, and began their conferences in Chausſe, a small village near Chalons. At the same time, Charles, either from a desire of making one great final effort against France, or merely to gain a pretext for deserting his ally and concluding a separate peace, sent an ambassador formally to require Henry, according to the stipulation in their treaty, to advance towards Paris. While he expected a return from him, and waited the issue of the conferences at Chausſe, he continued to march forward, though in the utmost distress from scarcity of provisions. But at last, by a fortunate motion on his part, or through some neglect or treachery on that of the French, he surprized first Espernay and then Chateau Thierry, in both which were considerable magazines. No sooner was it known that these towns, the latter of which is not two days march from Paris, were in the hands of the enemy, than that great capital, defenceless, and susceptible of any violent alarm in proportion to its greatness, was filled with consternation. The inhabitants, as if the Emperor had been already at their gates, fled in the wildest confusion and despair, many sending their wives and children down the Seine to Rouën, others to Orleans, and the towns upon the Loire. Francis himself, more afflicted with this, than with any other event during his reign, and sensible as well of the triumph his rival would enjoy in insulting his capital, as of the danger to which the kingdom was exposed, could not refrain, in the first emotion of his surprize and sorrow, from crying out, "How dear, O my God, do I pay for this crown, which I thought thou hadst granted me freely[f]." But recovering in a moment from this sudden sally of peevishness and im-

[f] Brantome, tom. 6. 381.

patience,

patience, he devoutly added, "Thy will, however, be done;" and proceeded to iſſue the neceſſary orders for oppoſing the enemy with his uſual compoſure and preſence of mind. The dauphin detached eight thouſand men to Paris, which revived the courage of the affrighted citizens; he threw a ſtrong garriſon into Meaux, and by a forced march got into Fertè, between the Imperialiſts and the capital.

Obliged to retire.

UPON this, the Emperor, who began again to feel the want of proviſions, perceiving that the dauphin ſtill prudently declined a battle, and not daring to attack his camp with forces ſo much ſhattered and reduced by hard ſervice, turned ſuddenly to the right, and began to fall back towards Soiſſons. Having about this time received Henry's anſwer, whereby he refuſed to abandon the ſieges of Bologne and Montreuil, of both which he expected every moment to get poſſeſſion, he thought himſelf abſolved from all obligations of adhering to the treaty with him, and at full liberty to conſult his own intereſt in what manner ſoever he pleaſed. He conſented, therefore, to renew the conference, which the ſurprize of Eſpernay had broke off. To conclude a peace between two princes, one of whom greatly deſired, and the other greatly needed it, did not require a long negociation. It was ſigned at Creſpy, a ſmall town near Meaux, on the eighteenth of September. The chief articles of it were, That all the conqueſts which either party had made ſince the truce of Nice ſhall be reſtored; that the Emperor ſhall give in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, either his own eldeſt daughter, or the ſecond daughter of his brother Ferdinand; that if he choſe to beſtow on him his own daughter, he ſhall ſettle on her all the provinces of the Low-Countries, to be erected into an

Peace between him and Francis concluded at Creſpy.

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independent ſtate, which ſhall deſcend to the male iſſue of the marriage; that if he determined to give him his niece, he ſhall, with her, grant him the inveſtiture of Milan and its dependencies; that he ſhall within four months declare which of theſe two Princeſſes he had pitched upon, and fulfil the reſpective conditions upon the conſummation of the marriage, which ſhall take place within a year from the date of the treaty; that as ſoon as the Duke of Orleans is put in poſſeſſion either of the Low-Countries or of Milan, Francis ſhall reſtore to the Duke of Savoy all that he now poſſeſſes of his territories, except Pignerol and Montmilian; that Francis ſhall renounce all pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples, or to the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and Charles ſhall give up his claim to the dutchy of Burgundy and county of Charolois; that Francis ſhall give no aid to the exiled King of Navarre; that both Monarchs ſhall join in making war upon the Turk, towards which the King ſhall furniſh, when required by the Emperor and Empire, ſix hundred men at arms, and ten thouſand foot [s].

Motives of concluding it.

BESIDES the immediate motives to this peace ariſing from the diſtreſs of his army through want of proviſions; from the difficulty of retreating out of France; and the impoſſibility of ſecuring winter quarters there; the Emperor was influenced by other conſiderations, more diſtant, indeed, but not leſs weighty. The Pope was offended to a great degree, as well at his conceſſions to the Proteſtants in the late diet, as at his conſenting to call a council, and to admit of publick diſputations in Germany

[s] Recueil des Traitez, t. i. 227. Belius de cauſis Pacis Crepiac. in Actis Erudit. Lips. 1763.

with

with a view of determining the doctrines in controverſy; and conſidering both theſe ſteps as ſacrilegious encroachments on the juriſdiction as well as privileges of the Holy ſee, he had addreſſed to him a remonſtrance rather than a letter on this ſubject, written with ſuch acrimony of language, and in a ſtile of ſuch high authority, as diſcovered more of an intention to draw on a quarrel than of a deſire to reclaim him. This ill humour was not a little inflamed by the Emperor's league with Henry, which being contracted with an heretick, excommunicated by the apoſtolic ſee, appeared to the Pope a profane alliance, and was not leſs dreaded by him, than that of Francis with Solyman. Paul's ſon and grandſon, highly incenſed at the Emperor for having refuſed to gratify them with regard to the alienation of Parma and Placentia, contributed by their infuſions to ſour and diſguſt him ſtill more. To all which was added the powerful operation of the flattery and promiſes which Francis inceſſantly employed to gain him. Though from his deſire of maintaining a neutrality, the Pope had hitherto ſuppreſſed his own reſentment, had eluded the artifices of his own family, and reſiſted the ſollicitations of the French King, it was not ſafe to rely much on the ſteddineſs of a man whom his paſſions, his friends, and his intereſt combined to ſhake. The union of the Pope with France, Charles well knew, would inſtantly expoſe his dominions in Italy to be attacked. The Venetians, he foreſaw, would probably follow the example of a Pontiff, who was conſidered as a model of political wiſdom among the Italians; and thus at a juncture when he felt himſelf ſcarce equal to the burden of the preſent war, he would be overwhelmed with the weight of a new confederacy againſt him [h]. At the ſame time,

[h] F. Paul, 100. Pallavic, 163.

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the Turks, almoſt unreſiſted, made ſuch progreſs in Hungary, reducing town after town, that they approached near to the confines of the Auſtrian provinces [i]. Above all theſe, the extraordinary progreſs of the Proteſtant doctrines in Germany, and the dangerous combination into which the Princes of that profeſſion had entered, called for his immediate attention. Almoſt one half of Germany had revolted from the eſtabliſhed church; the fidelity of the reſt was much ſhaken; the nobility of Auſtria had demanded of Ferdinand the free exerciſe of religion [k]; the Bohemians, among whom ſome ſeeds of the doctrines of Huſs ſtill remained, openly favoured the new opinions; the archbiſhop of Cologne, with a zeal rare among eccleſiaſticks, had begun the reformation of his dioceſe; nor was it poſſible, unleſs ſome timely and effectual check were given to the ſpirit of innovation, to foreſee where it would end. He himſelf had been a witneſs, in the late diet, to the peremptory and deciſive tone which the Proteſtants had now aſſumed; and had ſeen how, from confidence in their number and union, they had forgotten the humble ſtile of their firſt petitions, having grown to ſuch boldneſs as openly to deſpiſe the Pope, and to ſhew no great reverence for the Imperial dignity itſelf. If, therefore, he wiſhed to maintain either the ancient religion, or his own authority, and would not chuſe to dwindle into a mere nominal head of the Empire, ſome vigorous effort was requiſite, which could not be made during a war that required the greateſt exertion of his ſtrength againſt a foreign and powerful enemy.

Such being the Emperor's inducements to peace, he had the addreſs to frame the treaty of Creſpy ſo as to promote all the

[i] Iſtuanhaffii. Hiſt. Hung. 177. [k] Sleid. 285.

ends

ends which he had in view. By coming to an agreement with Francis, he took from the Pope all proſpect of advantage in courting the friendſhip of that Monarch in preference to his. By the proviſo with regard to a war with the Turks, he not only deprived Solyman of a powerful ally, but turned the arms of that ally againſt him. By a private article, not inſerted in the treaty that it might not raiſe any unſeaſonable alarm, he agreed with Francis that both ſhould exert all their influence and power in order to procure a general council, to aſſert its authority, and to exterminate the Proteſtant hereſy out of their dominions. This cut off all hope of aſſiſtance which the confederates of Smalkalde might expect from the French King [1]; and left their ſollicitations, or his jealouſy of an ancient rival, ſhould hereafter tempt Francis to forget this engagement, he left him embarraſſed with a war againſt England, which would put it out of his power to take any part in the affairs of Germany. Book VII. 1544.

HENRY, poſſeſſed at all times with an high idea of his own power and importance, felt, in the moſt ſenſible manner, the neglect with which the Emperor had treated him in concluding a ſeparate peace. But the ſituation of his affairs was ſuch as ſomewhat alleviated the mortification which this occaſioned. For though he was obliged to recal the Duke of Norfolk from the ſiege of Montreuil, becauſe the Flemiſh troops received orders to retire, Bologne had ſurrendered before the negociations at Creſpy were brought to an iſſue. While elated with vanity on account of this conqueſt, and inflamed with indignation againſt the Emperor, the ambaſſadors whom Francis War continues between France and England. Septemb. 14.

[1] Seck. l. iii. 496.

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ſent to make overtures of peace found him too arrogant to grant what was moderate or equitable. His demands were indeed extravagant, and made in the tone of a conqueror; that Francis ſhould renounce his alliance with Scotland, and not only pay up the arrears of former debts, but reimburſe the money which he had expended in the preſent war. Francis, though ſincerely deſirous of peace, and willing to yield a great deal in order to obtain it, being now free from the preſſure of the Imperial arms, rejected theſe ignominious propoſitions with diſdain; and Henry departing for England, hoſtilities continued between the two nations [m].

The dauphin diſſatisfied with the peace of Creſpy.

THE treaty of peace, how acceptable ſoever to the people of France, whom it delivered from the dread of an enemy who had penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, was loudly complained of by the dauphin. He conſidered it as a manifeſt proof of the King his father's extraordinary partiality towards his younger brother, now Duke of Orleans, and complained that from his eagerneſs to gain an eſtabliſhment for a favourite ſon, he had ſacrificed the honour of the kingdom, and renounced the moſt antient and valuable rights of the crown. But as he durſt not venture to offend the king by refuſing to ratify it, though extremely deſirous at the ſame time of ſecuring to himſelf the privilege of reclaiming what was now alienated ſo much to his detriment, he ſecretly proteſted, in preſence of ſome of his adherents, againſt the whole tranſaction; and declared whatever he ſhould be obliged to do in order to confirm it, null in itſelf, and void of all obligation. The parliament of Thouloufe, pro-

[m] Mem. de Ribier, t. i. p. 572. Herbert, 244.

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bably by the inſtigation of his partizans, did the ſame [n]. But Francis, highly pleaſed as well with having delivered his ſubjects from the miſeries of an invaſion, as with the proſpect of acquiring an independent ſettlement for his ſon at no greater price than the renouncing conqueſts to which he had no juſt claim; titles which had hitherto proved the ſource of expence or diſaſters to the nation; and rights grown to be obſolete and of no value; ratified the treaty with great joy. Charles, within the time preſcribed by the treaty, declared his intention of giving Ferdinand's daughter in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, together with the dutchy of Milan as her dowry [o]. Every circumſtance ſeemed to promiſe the continuance of peace. The Emperor, cruelly afflicted with the gout, appeared to be in no condition to undertake any enterprize where great activity was requiſite, or much fatigue to be endured. He himſelf felt this, or wiſhed at leaſt that it ſhould be believed; and being ſo much diſabled by this excruciating diſtemper, when a French ambaſſador followed him to Bruſſels in order to be preſent at his ratification of the treaty of peace, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he ſigned his name, he obſerved, that there was no great danger of his violating theſe articles, as a hand that could ſcarce hold a pen, was little able to brandiſh a lance.

The Emperor's ſchemes with reſpect to Germany.

THE violence of his diſeaſe confined the Emperor ſeveral months in Bruſſels, and was the apparent cauſe of putting off the execution of the vaſt ſchemes which he had formed in order to humble the Proteſtant party in Germany. But there were other reaſons for this delay. For, how prevalent ſoever

[n] Recueil de Traitez, t. ii. 235, 238. [o] Recueil de Traitez, t. ii. 238.

the

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the motives were which determined him to undertake this enterprize, the nature of that great body which he was about to attack, as well as the ſituation of his own affairs, made it neceſſary to deliberate long, to proceed with caution, and not to throw aſide too ſuddenly the veil under which he had hitherto concealed his real ſentiments and ſchemes. He was ſenſible that the Proteſtants, conſcious of their own ſtrength, but under continual apprehenſions of his deſigns, had all the boldneſs of a powerful party, and all the jealouſy of a feeble faction; and were no leſs quick-ſighted to diſcern the firſt appearance of danger, than ready to take arms in order to repel it. At the ſame time, he continued involved in a Turkiſh war; and though, in order to deliver himſelf from this incumbrance, he had determined to ſend an envoy to the Porte with moſt advantageous and even ſubmiſſive overtures of peace, the reſolutions of that haughty court were ſo uncertain, that before theſe were known it would have been the height of imprudence to have kindled the flames of civil war in his own dominions.

The Pope ſummons a general council to meet at Trent. Novemb. 19.

UPON this account, he appeared diſſatisfied with a bull iſſued by the Pope immediately after the peace of Creſpy, ſummoning the council to aſſemble at Trent early next ſpring, and exhorting all Chriſtian Princes to embrace the opportunity that the preſent happy interval of tranquillity afforded them, of ſuppreſſing thoſe hereſies which threatened to ſubvert whatever was ſacred or venerable among Chriſtians. But after ſuch a ſlight expreſſion of diſlike as was neceſſary in order to cover his deſigns, he determined to countenance the council, which might become no inconſiderable inſtrument towards accompliſhing his projects, and therefore not only appointed ambaſſadors to

to appear there in his name, but ordered the eccleſiaſticks in his dominions to attend at the time prefixed [p]. Book VII. 1544.

Such were the Emperor's views, when the Imperial diet, after ſeveral prorogations, was opened at Worms. The Proteſtants, who enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religion by a very precarious tenure, having no other ſecurity for it than the receſs of the laſt diet, which was to continue in force only until the meeting of a council, wiſhed earneſtly to eſtabliſh that important privilege upon ſome firmer baſis, and to hold it by a perpetual not a temporary title. But, inſtead of offering them any additional ſecurity, Ferdinand opened the diet with obſerving, that there were two points, chiefly, which required conſideration, the proſecution of the war againſt the Turks, and the ſtate of religion; that the former was the moſt urgent, as Solyman, after conquering the greateſt part of Hungary, was now ready to fall upon the Auſtrian provinces; that the Emperor, who, from the beginning of his reign, had neglected no opportunity of annoying this formidable enemy, and with the hazard of his own perſon had reſiſted his attacks, being animated ſtill with the ſame zeal, had now conſented to ſtop ſhort in the career of his ſucceſs againſt France, that, in conjunction with his antient rival, he might turn his arms with greater vigour againſt the common adverſary of the Chriſtian faith; that it became all the members of the Empire to ſecond theſe pious endeavours of its head; that, therefore, they ought, without delay, to vote him ſuch effectual aid as both their duty and their intereſt called upon them to furniſh; that the controverſies about religion 1545. Diet at Worms. March 24.

[p] F. Paul, 104.

BOOK VII. 1545. Ferdinand requires the Germans to acknowledge the council.

were ſo intricate, and of ſuch difficult diſcuſſion, as to give no hope of its being poſſible to bring them at preſent to any final iſſue; that by perſeverance and repeated ſollicitations the Emperor had at length prevailed on the Pope to call a council, for which they had ſo often wiſhed and petitioned; that the time appointed for its meeting was now come, and both parties ought to wait for its decrees, and ſubmit to them as the deciſions of the univerſal church.

THE popiſh members of the diet received this declaration with great applauſe, and ſignified their entire acquieſcence in every particular which it contained. The Proteſtants expreſſed great ſurprize at propoſitions, which were ſo manifeſtly repugnant to the receſs of the former diet; they inſiſted that the queſtions with regard to religion, as firſt in dignity and importance, ought to come firſt under deliberation; that alarming as the progreſs of the Turks was to all Germany, the ſecuring the free exerciſe of their religion touched them ſtill more nearly, nor could they proſecute a foreign war with ſpirit, while ſollicitous and concerned about their domeſtic tranquillity; that if the latter were once rendered firm and permanent, they would concur with their countrymen in puſhing the former, and yield to none of them in activity or zeal. But if the danger from the Turkiſh arms was indeed ſo imminent, as not to admit of ſuch a delay as would be occaſioned by an immediate examination of the contraverted points in religion, they required that a diet ſhould be inſtantly appointed, to which the final ſettlement of their religious diſputes ſhould be referred; and that in the mean time the decree of the former diet concerning religion ſhould be explained in a point which they deemed eſſential. By the

1545.

the receſs of Spires it was provided, that they ſhould enjoy unmoleſted the public exerciſe of their religion, until the meeting of a legal council; but as the Pope had now called a council, to which Ferdinand had required them to ſubmit, they began to ſuſpect that their adverſaries might take advantage of an ambiguity in the terms of the receſs, and pretending that the event therein mentioned had taken place, might pronounce them to be no longer entitled to the ſame indulgence. In order to guard againſt this interpretation, they renewed their former remonſtrances againſt a council called to meet without the bounds of the Empire, ſummoned by the Pope's authority, and in which he aſſumed the right of preſiding; and declared that, notwithſtanding the convocation of any ſuch illegal aſſembly, they ſtill held the receſs of the late diet to be in full force.

Emperor arrives at Worms.

At other junctures, when the Emperor thought it of advantage to ſooth and gain the Proteſtants, he had deviſed expedients for giving them ſatisfaction with regard to demands ſeemingly more extravagant; but his views at preſent being very different, Ferdinand by his command adhered inflexibly to his firſt propoſitions, and would make no conceſſions which had the moſt remote tendency to throw diſcredit on the council, or to weaken its authority. The Proteſtants, on their part, were no leſs inflexible; and after much time ſpent in fruitleſs endeavours to convince each other, they came to no concluſion. Nor did the preſence of the Emperor, who upon his recovery arrived at Worms, contribute in any degree to render the Proteſtants more compliant. Fully convinced that they were maintaining the cauſe of God and of truth, they ſhewed themſelves ſuperior to the allurements of intereſt, or the ſuggeſtions of fear; and in proportion as the Emperor redoubled his ſollicitations, or diſcovered his deſigns,

May 15.

Book VII. 1545.

their boldneſs ſeems to have increaſed. At laſt they openly declared, that they would not even deign to vindicate their tenets in preſence of a council, aſſembled not to examine, but to condemn them; and that they would pay no regard to an aſſembly held under the influence of a Pope, who had already precluded himſelf from all title to act as a judge, by his having ſtigmatized their opinions with the name of hereſy, and denounced againſt them the heavieſt cenſures, which, in the plenitude of his uſurped power, he could inflict [q].

The Proteſtants diſclaim all connection with the council of Trent.

Conduct of Maurice of Saxony in this diet.

WHILE the Proteſtants, with ſuch union as well as firmneſs, rejected all intercourſe with the council, and refuſed their aſſent to the Imperial demands in reſpect to the Turkiſh war, Maurice of Saxony alone ſhewed an inclination to gratify the Emperor with regard to both. Though he profeſſed an inviolable regard for the Proteſtant religion, he aſſumed an appearance of moderation peculiar to himſelf, by which he confirmed the favourable ſentiments that the Emperor already entertained of him, and gradually paved the way for executing the ambitious deſigns which always occupied his active and enterprizing mind [r]. His example, however, had little influence upon ſuch as agreed with him in their religious opinions; and Charles perceived that he could not hope either to procure preſent aid from the Proteſtants againſt the Turks, or to quiet their fears and jealouſies on account of their religion. But as his ſchemes were not yet ripe for execution, nor his preparations ſo far advanced that he could force their compliance, or puniſh their obſtinacy, he artfully concealed his own intentions; and that he might augment their ſecurity, he appointed a diet to be held at Ratiſbon early next year, in order to adjuſt what was now left

Auguſt 4.

[q] Sleid. 343, &c. Seck. iii. 513, &c. Thuan. Hiſtor. lib. ii. p. 56.
[r] Seck. iii. 571.

[illegible]eter-

undetermined; and previous to it, he agreed that a certain number of divines of each party ſhould meet, in order to confer upon the points in diſpute[a].

The Proteſtants begin to ſuſpect the Emperor.

BUT how far ſoever this appearance of a deſire to maintain the preſent tranquillity might have impoſed upon the Proteſtants, the Emperor was incapable of ſuch uniform and thorough diſſimulation, as to hide altogether from their view the dangerous deſigns which he was meditating againſt them. Herman count de Wied, Archbiſhop and Elector of Cologne, a prelate conſpicuous for his virtue and primitive ſimplicity of manners, though not more diſtinguiſhed for learning than the other deſcendants of noble families, who in that age poſſeſſed moſt of the great benefices in Germany, having become a proſelyte to the doctrines of the Reformers, had begun in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-three, with the aſſiſtance of Melancthon and Bucer, to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtition in his dioceſe, and to introduce in its place the rites eſtabliſhed among the Proteſtants. But the canons of his cathedral who were not poſſeſſed with the ſame ſpirit of innovation, and who foreſaw how fatal the levelling genius of the new ſect would prove to their dignity and wealth, oppoſed, from the beginning, this unprecedented enterprize of their Archbiſhop with all the zeal flowing from reverence for old inſtitutions, heightened by concern for their own intereſt. This oppoſition, which the Archbiſhop conſidered only as a new argument to demonſtrate the neceſſity of a reformation, neither ſhook his reſolution nor ſlackened his ardour in proſecuting his plan. The canons, perceiving all their endeavours to check his career to be ineffectual, ſolemnly

[a] Sleid. 351.

BOOK VII. 1515. proteſted againſt his proceedings, and appealed for redreſs to the Pope and Emperor, the former as his eccleſiaſtical, the latter as his civil ſuperior. This appeal being laid before the Emperor, during his reſidence in Worms, he took the canons of Cologne under his immediate protection; enjoined them to proceed with rigour againſt all who revolted from the eſtabliſhed church; prohibited the Archbiſhop to make any innovation in his dioceſe; and ſummoned him to appear at Bruſſels within thirty days, to anſwer the accuſations which ſhould be preferred againſt him[1].

To this clear evidence of his hoſtile intentions againſt the Proteſtant party, Charles added other proofs ſtill more explicit. In his hereditary dominions of the Low-Countries, he perſecuted all who were ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm with unrelenting rigour. As ſoon as he arrived at Worms, he ſilenced the Proteſtant preachers in that city. He allowed an Italian monk to inveigh againſt the Lutherans from the pulpit of his chapel, and to call upon him, as he regarded the favour of God, to exterminate that peſtilent hereſy. He diſpatched the embaſſy, which has been already mentioned, to Conſtantinople, with overtures of peace, that he might be free from any apprehenſions of danger or interruption from that quarter. Nor did any of theſe ſteps, or their dangerous tendency, eſcape the jealous obſervation of the Proteſtants, or fail to alarm their fears, and to excite their ſollicitude for the ſafety of their ſect.

Death of the Duke of Orleans.

MEANWHILE, Charles's good fortune, which predominated on all occaſions over that of his rival Francis, extricated him out of a difficulty, from which, with all his ſagacity and addreſs, he

[1] Sleid. 310, 340, 351. Seckend. iii. 443, 553.

would

would have found it no eaſy matter to have diſentangled himſelf. Juſt about the time when the Duke of Orleans ſhould have received Ferdinand's daughter in marriage, and together with her the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, he died of a peſtilential fever. By this event, the Emperor was freed from the neceſſity of giving up an important province into the hands of an enemy, or from the indecency of violating a recent and ſolemn engagement, which muſt have occaſioned an immediate rupture with France. He affected, however, to expreſs great ſorrow for the untimely death of a young Prince, who was to have been ſo nearly allied to him; but he carefully avoided entering into any freſh diſcuſſions concerning the Milaneſe, and would not liſten to a propoſal which came from Francis of new modelling the treaty of Creſpy, ſo as to make him ſome reparation for the advantages which he had loſt by the demiſe of his ſon. In the more active and vigorous part of Francis's reign, a declaration of war would have been the certain and inſtantaneous conſequence of ſuch a flat refuſal to comply with a demand ſeemingly ſo equitable; but the declining ſtate of his own health, the exhauſted condition of his kingdoms, together with the burden of the war againſt England, obliged him, at preſent, to diſſemble his reſentment, and to put off thoughts of revenge to ſome other juncture. In conſequence of this event, the unfortunate Duke of Savoy loſt all hope of obtaining the reſtitution of his territories; and the rights or claims relinquiſhed by the treaty of Creſpy, returned in full force to the crown of France, to ſerve as pretexts for future wars[n].

BOOK VII. 1545. Sept. 8.

UPON the firſt intelligence of the Duke of Orleans's death, the confederates of Smalkalde flattered themſelves that the

[n] Belcarii Comment. 769. Paruta, Hiſt. Venet. iv. p. 177.

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1545.

The Pope grants the dutchies of Parma and Placentia to his ſon.

eſſential alterations which it occaſioned could ſcarce fail of producing a rupture, which would prove the means of their ſafety. But they were not more diſappointed with regard to this, than in their expectations from an event which ſeemed to be the certain prelude of a quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope. Paul, whoſe paſſion for aggrandizing his family, increaſed as he advanced in years, and as he ſaw the dignity and power which they derived immediately from him becoming more precarious, finding that he could not bring the Emperor to approve of his ambitious ſchemes, ventured, though at the riſque of incurring his diſpleaſure, to grant his ſon Peter Lewis the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia. At a time when a great part of Europe inveighed openly againſt the corrupt manners and exorbitant power of Eccleſiaſtics, and when a council was ſummoned to reform the diſorders in the church, this indecent grant of ſuch a principality to a ſon of whoſe illegitimate birth the Pope ought to have been aſhamed, and whoſe licentious morals all good men deteſted, gave general offence. Some Cardinals in the Imperial intereſt remonſtrated againſt ſuch an unbecoming alienation of the patrimony of the church; the Spaniſh ambaſſador would not be preſent at the ſolemnity of his enfeofment; and the Emperor peremptorily refuſed, upon pretext that theſe cities were part of the Milaneſe ſtate, to confirm the deed of inveſtiture. But both the Emperor and Pope being intent upon one common object in Germany, ſacrificed their particular paſſions to that public cauſe, and ſuppreſſed the emotions of jealouſy or reſentment which were riſing on this occaſion, that they might jointly purſue what each eſteemed of greater importance[x].

[x] Paruta, Hiſt. Venet. iv. 178. Pallavii 180.

About

About this time the peace of Germany was disturbed by a violent but short eruption of Henry Duke of Brunswick. This Prince, though still stript of his dominions, which the Emperor held in sequestration, until his differences with the confederates of Smalkalde should be adjusted, possessed however so much credit in Germany that he undertook to raise for the French King a considerable body of troops to be employed in the war against England. The money stipulated for this purpose was duly advanced by Francis; the troops were levied; but Henry, instead of leading them towards France, suddenly entered his own dominions at their head, in hopes of recovering them before any army could be assembled to oppose him. The confederates were not more surprized at this unexpected attack, than the King of France was astonished at a mean thievish fraud so unbecoming the character of a Prince. But the Landgrave of Hesse, with incredible expedition, collected as many men as put a stop to the progress of Henry's undisciplined forces, and being joined by his son-in-law Maurice, and some troops of the Elector of Saxony, he gained such advantages over Henry, who was rash and bold in forming his schemes, but feeble and undetermined in executing them, as obliged him to disband his army, and to surrender himself together with his eldest son prisoners at discretion. He was kept in close confinement, until a new reverse of affairs procured him liberty [y].

1545. Henry of Brunswick kindles a war in Germany.

As this defeat of Henry's wild enterprize added new reputation to the arms of the Protestants, the reformation of the Palatinate brought a great accession of strength to their party. Frederick, who succeeded his brother Lewis in that Electorate,

1546. The Reformation of the Palatinate.

[y] Sleid. 352. Seck. iii. 567.

Book VII. 1545. had long been ſuſpected of a ſecret propenſity to the doctrines of the Reformers, which, upon his acceſſion to the principality, he openly manifeſted. But as he expected that ſomething effectual towards a general and legal eſtabliſhment of religion would be the fruit of ſo many diets, conferences, and negociations, he did not, at firſt, attempt any public innovation in his dominions. Finding all theſe iſſue in nothing, he thought himſelf called, at length, to countenance by his authority the ſyſtem which he approved of, and to gratify the wiſhes of his ſubjects, who by their intercourſe with the Proteſtant ſtates had univerſally imbibed their opinions. As the warmth and impetuoſity which accompanied the ſpirit of Reformation in its firſt efforts had ſomewhat abated, this change was made with great order and regularity; the ancient rites were aboliſhed, and new forms introduced without any act of violence, or ſymptom of diſcontent. Though Frederick adopted the religious ſyſtem of the Proteſtants, he imitated the example of Maurice, and did not accede to the league of Smalkalde [z].

Jan. 10.

The council aſſembles at Trent.

A FEW weeks before this revolution in the Palatinate, the general council was opened with the accuſtomed ſolemnities at Trent. The eyes of the Catholick ſtates were turned with much expectation towards an aſſembly, which all had conſidered as a natural and adequate remedy for the diſorders of the church when they firſt broke out, though many were afraid that it was now too late to hope for great benefit from it, when the malady, by being ſuffered to make progreſs during twenty-eight years, had become inveterate, and grown to ſuch extreme violence.

[z] Sleid. 356. Seck. l. iii. 616.

The

The Pope, by his laſt bull of convocation, had appointed the firſt meeting to be held in March. But his views and thoſe of the Emperor were ſo different, that almoſt the whole year was ſpent in negociations. Charles, who foreſaw that the rigorous decrees of the council againſt the Proteſtants would ſoon drive them, in ſelf-defence as well as from reſentment, to ſome deſperate extreme, laboured to put off its meeting until his warlike preparations were ſo far advanced, that he might be in a condition to ſecond its deciſions by the force of his arms. The Pope, who had early ſent to Trent the legates who were to preſide in his name, knowing to what contempt it would expoſe his authority, and what ſuſpicions it would beget of his intentions, if the fathers of the council ſhould remain in a ſtate of inactivity, when the church was in ſuch danger as to require their immediate and vigorous interpoſition, inſiſted either upon tranſlating the council to ſome city in Italy, or upon ſuſpending its proceedings at that juncture, or upon authoriſing it to begin its deliberations immediately. The Emperor rejected the two former as equally offenſive to the Germans of every denomination, but finding it impoſſible to elude the latter, he propoſed that the council ſhould begin with reforming the diſorders in the church, before it proceeded to examine or define articles of faith. This was the very thing which the court of Rome dreaded moſt, and which had prompted it to employ ſo many artifices in order to prevent the meeting of ſuch a dangerous judicatory. Paul, though more compliant than ſome of his predeceſſors with regard to calling a council, was no leſs jealous than they had been of its juriſdiction, and ſaw what matter of triumph ſuch a method of proceeding would afford the hereties. He apprehended conſequences not only humbling but fatal to

Book VII. 1546.

the papal ſee, if the council came to conſider an inqueſt into abuſes as their only buſineſs; or if inferior prelates were allowed to gratify their own envy and peeviſhneſs by preſcribing rules to thoſe who were exalted above them in dignity and power. Without liſtening, therefore, to this inſidious propoſal of the Emperor, he inſtructed his legates to open the council.

Jan. 18. Its proceedings.

The firſt ſeſſion was ſpent in matters of form. In a ſubſequent one, it was agreed that the framing a confeſſion of faith, containing all the articles which the church required its members to believe, ought to be the firſt and principal buſineſs of the council; but that at the ſame time, it ſhould give attention to what was neceſſary towards the reformation of manners and diſcipline. From this firſt ſymptom of the ſpirit with which the council was animated, from the high tone of authority which the legates who preſided in it aſſumed, and from the implicit deference with which moſt of the members followed their directions, the Proteſtants conjectured with eaſe what deciſions they might expect. It aſtoniſhed them, however, to ſee forty prelates, (for no greater number were yet aſſembled) aſſume authority as repreſentatives of the univerſal church, and proceed to determine the moſt important points of doctrine in its name. Senſible of this indecency, as well as of the ridicule with which it might be attended, the council advanced ſlowly in its deliberations, and all its proceedings were for ſome time languiſhing and feeble [a]. As ſoon as the confederates of Smalkalde received information of the opening of the council, they publiſhed a long manifeſto containing a renewal of their proteſt againſt its meeting, together with the reaſons which induced them to

[a] F. Paul, 120, &c. Pallavic. p. 180, &c.

decline

decline its juriſdictions [b]. The Pope and Emperor, meanwhile, were ſo little ſollicitous to quicken or add vigour to its operations, as plainly diſcovered that ſome object of greater importance occupied and intereſted them.

Apprehenſions of the Proteſtants.

THE Proteſtants, as they were not inattentive or unconcerned ſpectators of their motions, entertained every day more violent ſuſpicions of their intentions, and received intelligence from different quarters of the machinations carrying on againſt them. The King of England informed them, that the Emperor having long reſolved to exterminate their opinions, would not fail to employ this interval of tranquillity which he now enjoyed, as the moſt favourable juncture for carrying his deſign into execution. The merchants of Augſburg, which was at that time a city of extenſive trade, received advice by means of their correſpondents in Italy, among whom were ſome who ſecretly favoured the Proteſtant cauſe [c], that a dangerous confederacy againſt it was forming between the Pope and Emperor. In confirmation of this, they heard from the Low-Countries that Charles had iſſued orders, though with every precaution which could keep the meaſure concealed, for raiſing troops both there and in other parts of his dominions. Such a variety of information, corroborating all that their own jealouſy or obſervation led them to apprehend, left the Proteſtants little reaſon to doubt of the Emperor's hoſtile intentions. Under this impreſſion, the deputies of the confederates of Smalkalde aſſembled at Frankfort, and by communicating their intelligence and ſentiments to each other, reciprocally heightened their ſenſe of the impending danger. But their union was not ſuch as their ſituation required,

Their deliberations.

[b] Seckend. l. iii. 602, &c.

[c] Seck. l. iii. 579.

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or the preparations of their enemies rendered neceſſary. Their league had now ſubſiſted ten years. Among ſo many members whoſe territories were intermingled with each other, and who, according to the cuſtom of Germany, had created an infinite variety of mutual rights and claims by intermarriages, alliances, and contracts of different kinds, ſubjects of jealouſy and diſcord had unavoidably ariſen. Some of the confederates, being connected with the Duke of Brunſwick, were highly diſguſted with the Landgrave, on account of the rigour with which he had treated that raſh but unfortunate Prince. Others taxed the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave, the heads of the league, with having involved the members in unneceſſary and exorbitant expences by their profuſeneſs or want of oeconomy. The views, likewiſe, of theſe two great Princes, who, by their ſuperior power and authority, influenced and directed the whole body, being extremely different, rendered all its motions languid, at a time when the utmoſt vigour and diſpatch were requiſite. The Landgrave, of a violent and enterprizing temper, but not forgetful, amidſt his zeal for religion, of the uſual maxims of human policy, inſiſted that the danger which threatened them, being manifeſt and unavoidable, they ſhould have recourſe to the moſt effectual expedient for ſecuring their own ſafety, by courting the protection of the Kings of France and England, or by joining in alliance with the Proteſtant cantons of Swiſſerland, from whom they might expect ſuch powerful and preſent aſſiſtance as their ſituation demanded. The Elector, on the other hand, with the moſt upright intentions of any Prince in that age, and with talents which might have qualified him abundantly for the adminiſtration of government in any tranquil period, was poſſeſſed with ſuch ſuperſtitious veneration for all the parts of the Lutheran ſyſtem,

and

and ſuch bigotted attachment to all its tenets, as made him averſe to an union with thoſe who differed from him in any article of faith, and rendered him very incapable of undertaking its defence in times of difficulty and danger. He ſeemed to think, that the concerns of religion were to be regulated entirely by principles and maxims different from thoſe which apply to the common affairs of life; and being ſwayed too much by the opinions of Luther, who was not only a ſtranger to the rules of political conduct, but deſpiſed them; he often diſcovered an uncomplying ſpirit, which proved of the greateſt detriment to the cauſe that he wiſhed to ſupport. Influenced, on this occaſion, by the ſevere and rigid notions of that Reformer, he refuſed to enter into any confederacy with Francis, becauſe he was a perſecutor of the truth; or to ſolicit the friendſhip of Henry, becauſe he was no leſs impious and profane than the Pope himſelf; or even to join in alliance with the Swiſs, becauſe they differed from him in ſeveral eſſential articles of faith. This diſſenſion, about a point of ſuch conſequence, produced its natural effects. Each ſecretly cenſured and reproached the other. The Landgrave conſidered the Elector as fettered by narrow prejudices, unworthy of a Prince called to act a chief part in a ſcene of ſuch importance. The Elector ſuſpected him of looſe principles and ambitious views, which correſponded ill with the ſacred cauſe in which they were engaged. But though the Elector's ſcruples prevented their timely application for foreign aid; and the jealouſy or diſcontent of the other Princes defeated a propoſal for renewing their original confederacy, the term during which it was to continue in force being on the point of expiring; yet the ſenſe of their common danger induced them to agree with regard to other

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other points, particularly that they would never acknowledge the aſſembly at Trent as a lawful council, nor ſuffer the Archbiſhop of Cologne to be oppreſſed on account of the ſteps which he had taken towards the reformation of his dioceſe [d].

Their negociations with the Emperor.

THE Landgrave, meanwhile, deſirous of penetrating to the bottom of the Emperor's intentions, wrote to Granvelle, whom he knew to be thoroughly acquainted with all his maſter's ſchemes, informing him of the ſeveral particulars which raiſed the ſuſpicions of the Proteſtants, and begging an explicit declaration of what they had to fear or to hope. Granvelle, in return, aſſured them that the intelligence which they had received of the Emperor's military preparations was exaggerated, and all their ſuſpicions deſtitute of foundation; that, though in order to guard his frontiers againſt any inſult of the French or Engliſh, he had commanded a ſmall body of men to be raiſed in the Low-Countries, he was as ſollicitous as ever to maintain tranquillity in Germany [e].

BUT the Emperor's actions did not correſpond with theſe profeſſions. For, inſtead of appointing men of known moderation and a pacific temper to appear in defence of the Catholic doctrines at the conference which had been agreed on, he made choice of fierce bigots, attached to their own ſyſtem with a blind obſtinacy, which rendered all hope of reconcilement deſperate. Malvenda, a Spaniſh divine, who took the conduct of the debate on the part of the Catholics, managed it with all the ſubtle dexterity of a ſcholaſtic metaphyſician, more ſtudious to

[d] Seck. l. iii. 566, 570, 613. Sleid. 355.

[e] Sleid. 356.

perplex

perplex his adverſaries than to convince them, and more intent on palliating error than on diſcovering truth. The Proteſtants filled with indignation, as well at his ſophiſtry as at ſome regulations which the Emperor endeavoured to impoſe on the diſputants, broke off the conference abruptly, being fully convinced of the Emperor's having had nothing in view but to amuſe them, and to gain time for ripening his own ſchemes [f]. Book VII. 1546.

[f] Sleid. 358. Seck. l. iii. 620.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK VIII.

Book VIII. 1546. Death of Luther.

WHILE appearances of danger daily encreaſed, and the tempeſt which had been ſo long a gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence againſt the Proteſtant church, Luther was ſaved, by a ſeaſonable death, from feeling or beholding its deſtructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining ſtate of health, and during a rigorous ſeaſon, to his native city of Eyſleben, in order to compoſe, by his authority, a diſſenſion among the counts of Mansfield, he was ſeized with a violent
Feb. 18. inflammation in his ſtomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the ſixty-third year of his age. As he was raiſed

raiſed up by providence to be the author of one of the greateſt and moſt intereſting revolutions recorded in hiſtory, there is not any perſon perhaps whoſe character has been drawn with ſuch oppoſite colours. In his own age, one party, ſtruck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they ſaw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be ſacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices of a man, but the qualities of a dæmon. The other, warmed with admiration and gratitude, which they thought he merited as the reſtorer of light and liberty to the Chriſtian church, aſcribed to him perfections above the condition of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration bordering on that which ſhould be paid only to thoſe who are guided by the immediate inſpiration of heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure or the exaggerated praiſe of his contemporaries, which ought to regulate the opinions of the preſent age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain it, abilities both natural and acquired to defend it, and unwearied induſtry to propagate it, are virtues which ſhine ſo conſpicuouſly in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies muſt allow him to have poſſeſſed them in an eminent degree. To theſe may be added with equal juſtice, ſuch purity and even auſterity of manners, as became one who aſſumed the character of a Reformer; ſuch ſanctity of life as ſuited the doctrine which he delivered; and ſuch perfect diſintereſtedneſs as affords no ſlight preſumption of his ſincerity. Superior to all ſelfiſh conſiderations, a ſtranger to the elegancies of life, and deſpiſing its pleaſures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his diſciples, remaining ſatisfied himſelf in his original ſtate of profeſſor in the univerſity, and paſtor of

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His character.

Book VIII. 1546. the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to theſe offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconſiderable mixture of human frailty and human paſſions. Theſe, however, were of ſuch a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but ſeem to have taken their riſe from the ſame ſource with many of his virtues. His mind forcible and vehement in all its operations, rouzed by great objects, or agitated by violent paſſions, broke out, on many occaſions, with an impetuoſity which aſtoniſhes men of feebler ſpirits, or ſuch as are placed in a more tranquil ſituation. By carrying ſome praiſe-worthy diſpoſitions to exceſs, he bordered ſometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which expoſed him to cenſure. His confidence that his own opinions were well founded, approached to arrogance; his courage in aſſerting them, to raſhneſs; his firmneſs in adhering to them, to obſtinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adverſaries, to rage and ſcurrility. Accuſtomed himſelf to conſider every thing as ſubordinate to truth, he expected the ſame deference for it from other men; and without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth againſt thoſe, who diſappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with contempt. Regardleſs of any diſtinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chaſtiſed all his adverſaries, indiſcriminately, with the ſame rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII. nor the eminent learning and abilities of Eraſmus, ſcreened them from the ſame groſs abuſe with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

But theſe indecencies of which Luther was guilty, muſt not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper. They ought

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to be charged in part on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with thoſe maxims, which, by putting continual reſtraint on the paſſions of individuals, have poliſhed ſociety and rendered it agreeable, diſputes of every kind were managed with heat, and ſtrong emotions were uttered in their natural language, without reſerve or delicacy. At the ſame time, the works of learned men were all compoſed in Latin, and they were not only authorized, by the example of eminent writers in that language, to uſe their antagoniſts with the moſt illiberal ſcurrility; but, in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appear leſs ſhocking than in a living language, whoſe idioms and phraſes ſeem groſs, becauſe they are familiar.

In paſſing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by thoſe of another. For, although virtue and vice are at all times the ſame, manners and cuſtoms vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear moſt culpable, gave no diſguſt to his contemporaries. It was even by ſome of thoſe qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accompliſhing the great work which he undertook. To rouze mankind, when ſunk in ignorance or ſuperſtition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry, armed with power, required the utmoſt vehemence of zeal, and a temper daring to exceſs. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. A ſpirit, more amiable, but leſs vigorous than Luther's, would have ſhrunk back from the dangers, which he braved and

Book VIII. 1546. ſurmounted. Towards the cloſe of Luther's life, though without any perceptible declenſion of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increaſed upon him, ſo that he grew daily more peeviſh, more iraſcible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be witneſs of his own amazing ſucceſs; to ſee a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to ſhake the foundation of the Papal throne, before which the mightieſt Monarchs had trembled, he diſcovered, on ſome occaſions, ſymptoms of vanity and ſelf-applauſe. He muſt have been indeed more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accompliſhed, he had never felt any ſentiment of this kind riſing in his breaſt*.

SOME time before his death he felt his ſtrength declining, his conſtitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of buſineſs, added to the labour of diſcharging his miniſterial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of conſtant ſtudy, beſides the compoſition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed unin-

* A remarkable inſtance of this, as well as of a certain ſingularity and elevation of ſentiment, is found in his Laſt Will. Though the effects which he had to bequeath were very inconſiderable, he thought it neceſſary to make a Teſtament, but ſcorned to frame it with the uſual legal formalities. Notus ſum, ſays he, in cœlo, in terra, & in inferno, & auctoritatem ad hoc ſufficientem habeo, ut mihi ſoli credatur, cum Deus mihi, homini licet damnabili, et miſerabili peccatori, ex paterna miſericordia Evangelium filii ſui crediderit, dederitque ut in eo verax & fidelis fuerim, ita ut multi in mundo illud per me acceperint, & me pro Doctore veritatis agnoverint, ſpreto banno Papæ, Cæſaris, Regum, Principum & ſacerdotum, immo omnium dæmonum odio. Quidni, igitur, ad diſpoſitionem hanc, in re exigua, ſufficiat, ſi adſit manus meæ teſtimonium, & dici poſſit, hæc ſcripſit D. Martinus Luther, Notarius Dei, & teſtis Evangelii ejus. Seck. l. iii. p. 651.

terrupted leiſure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forſake him at the approach of death; his laſt converſation with his friends was concerning the happineſs reſerved for good men in a future world, of which he ſpoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wiſhed to enter ſoon upon the enjoyment of it[a]. The account of his death filled the Roman Catholic party with exceſſive as well as indecent joy, and damped the ſpirits of all his followers; neither party ſufficiently conſidering that his doctrines were now ſo firmly rooted, as to be in a condition to flouriſh independent of the hand which firſt had planted them. His funeral was celebrated by order of the Elector of Saxony with extraordinary pomp. He left ſeveral children by his wife Catharine Bore, who ſurvived him; towards the end of the laſt century, there were in Saxony ſome of his deſcendents in decent and honourable ſtations[b].

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The Emperor endeavours to amuſe and deceive the Proteſtants.

March 28.

THE Emperor, meanwhile, purſued the plan of diſſimulation with which he had ſet out, employing every art to amuſe the Proteſtants, and to quiet their fears and jealouſies. For this purpoſe he contrived to have an interview with the Landgrave of Heſſe, the moſt active of all the confederates, and the moſt ſuſpicious of his deſigns. To him he made ſuch warm profeſſions of his concern for the happineſs of Germany, and of his averſion to all violent meaſures; he denied, in ſuch expreſs terms, his having entered into any league, or having begun any military preparations which ſhould give cauſe of alarm to the Proteſtants, as ſeem to have diſpelled all the Landgrave's

[a] Sleid. 362. Seck. lib. iii. 632, &c.

[b] Seck. l. iii. 651.

doubts

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doubts and apprehenſions, and ſent him away fully ſatisfied of his pacific intentions. This artifice was of great advantage, and effectually anſwered the purpoſe for which it was intended. The Landgrave upon his leaving Spires, where he had been admitted to this interview, went to Worms, where the Smalkaldic confederates were aſſembled, and gave them ſuch a flattering repreſentation of the Emperor's favourable diſpoſition towards them, that they, too apt, as well from the temper of the German nation as from the genius of all great aſſociations or bodies of men, to be ſlow, and dilatory, and undeciſive in their deliberations, thought there was no neceſſity of taking any immediate meaſures againſt danger, which appeared to be diſtant or imaginary [c].

Proceedings of the council againſt the Proteſtants.

SUCH events, however, ſoon occurred, as ſtaggered the credit which the Proteſtants had given to the Emperor's declarations. The council of Trent, though ſtill compoſed of a ſmall number of Italian and Spaniſh prelates, without a ſingle deputy from many of the kingdoms which it aſſumed the right of binding by its decrees, being aſhamed of its long inactivity, proceeded now to ſettle articles of the greateſt importance. Having begun with examining the firſt and chief point in controverſy between the church of Rome and the Reformers, concerning the rule which ſhould be held ſupreme or deciſive in matters of faith,

April 8. the council, by its infallible authority, determined, "That the books to which the deſignation of *Apocryphal* hath been given, are of equal authority with thoſe which were received by the Jews and primitive Chriſtians into the ſacred canon; that the traditions handed down from the apoſtolic age, and preſerved

[c] Sleid. Hiſt. 367, 373.

in the church, are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inſpired authors have committed to writing; that the Latin tranſlation of the Scriptures, made or reviſed by St. Jerome, and known by the name of the *Vulgate* tranſlation, ſhould be read in churches, and appealed to in the ſchools as authentic and canonical. Againſt all who diſclaimed the truth of theſe tenets, anathemas were denounced in the name and by the authority of the Holy Ghoſt. The deciſion of theſe points, which undermined the main pillar of the Lutheran ſyſtem, was a plain warning to the Proteſtants what judgment they might expect when the council ſhould have leiſure to take into conſideration the particular and ſubordinate articles of their Creed[t].

THIS diſcovery of the council's readineſs to condemn their opinions, was ſoon followed by a ſtriking inſtance of the Pope's reſolution to puniſh ſuch as embraced them. The appeal of the canons of Cologne againſt their Archbiſhop having been carried to Rome, Paul eagerly ſeized on that opportunity, both of diſplaying the extent of his own authority, and of teaching the German eccleſiaſtics the danger of revolting from the eſtabliſhed church. As no perſon appeared in behalf of the Archbiſhop, he was held to be convicted of the crime of hereſy, and a Papal bull was iſſued, depriving him of his eccleſiaſtical dignity, inflicting on him the ſentence of excommunication, and abſolving his ſubjects from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to him as their civil ſuperior. The countenance which he had given to the Lutheran hereſy was the only crime imputed to him, as well as the only reaſon aſſigned to juſtify the extraordinary rigour of

April 16.

[t] F. Paul. 141. Pallav. 206.

this

Book VIII. 1545.

this decree. The Proteſtants could ſcarce believe that Paul, how zealous ſoever to defend the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, or to humble thoſe who invaded it, would have ventured to proceed to ſuch extremities againſt a Prince and Elector of the Empire, without having previouſly ſecured ſuch powerful protection as would render his cenſure ſomething more than an impotent and deſpicable ſally of reſentment. They were of courſe deeply alarmed at this ſentence againſt the Archbiſhop, conſidering it as a ſure indication of the malevolent intentions not only of the Pope, but of the Emperor, againſt the whole party [c].

Charles about to commence hoſtilities againſt the Proteſtants.

UPON this freſh revival of their fears, with ſuch violence as is natural to men rouzed from a falſe ſecurity, and conſcious of their having been deceived, Charles ſaw that it was now neceſſary to throw aſide the veil, and to declare openly what part he determined to act. By a long ſeries of artifice and fallacy, he had gained ſo much time, that his meaſures, though not altogether ripe for execution, were greatly matured. The Pope, by his proceedings againſt the Elector of Cologne, as well as by the decree of the council, had precipitated matters into ſuch a ſituation, as rendered a breach between the Emperor and the Proteſtants almoſt unavoidable. Charles had no choice left him but either to take part with them in overturning what the the See of Rome had determined, or to ſupport the authority of the church openly by force of arms. Nor did the Pope think it enough to have brought the Emperor under a neceſſity of acting; he preſſed him to begin his operations, by promiſing to ſecond him with ſuch vigour as could ſcarce fail of ſecuring his ſucceſs. Tranſported by his zeal againſt hereſy, he forgot all the prudent

Negociates with the Pope.

[c] Sleid. 354. F. Paul, 155. Pallavic. 224.

and

and cautious maxims of the Papal See, with regard to the danger of extending the Imperial authority beyond due bounds, and in order to cruſh the Lutherans, he was willing to contribute towards raiſing up a maſter that might prove formidable to himſelf as well as to the reſt of Italy.

Concludes a truce with Solyman.

But, beſides the certain expectation of aſſiſtance from the Pope, Charles was now ſecure from any danger of interruption to his deſigns by the Turkiſh arms. His negociations at the Porte, which he had carried on with great aſſiduity ſince the peace of Creſpy, were on the point of being terminated in ſuch a manner as he deſired. Solyman, partly in compliance with the French King, who, in order to avoid the diſagreeable obligation of joining the Emperor againſt his ancient ally, laboured with great zeal to bring about an accommodation between them; and partly from its being neceſſary to turn his arms towards the eaſt, where the Perſians threatened to invade his dominions, conſented without difficulty to a truce for five years. The chief article of it was, that each ſhould retain poſſeſſion of what he now held in Hungary; and Ferdinand, as a ſacrifice to the pride of the Sultan, ſubmitted to pay an annual tribute of fifty thouſand crowns [e].

Gains Maurice, and other Princes of Germany.

But it was upon the aid and concurrence of the Germans themſelves that the Emperor relied with the greateſt confidence. The Germanic body, he knew, was of ſuch vaſt ſtrength, as to be invincible if it were united, and that it was only by employing its own force that he could hope to ſubdue it. Happily for him, the union of the ſeveral members in this great ſyſtem was ſo feeble, the whole frame was ſo looſely compacted, and its different parts tended ſo violently towards ſeparation from

[e] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hung. 180. Mem. de Ribier. tom. i. 582.

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each other, that it was almoſt impoſſible for it, on any important emergence, to join in a general or vigorous effort. In the preſent juncture, the ſources of diſcord were as many, and as various as had been known on any occaſion. The Roman Catholics, animated with a zeal in defence of their religion proportional to the fierceneſs with which it had been attacked, were eager to ſecond any attempt to humble thoſe innovators, who had overturned it in many provinces, and endangered it in more. John and Albert of Brandenburg, as well as ſeveral other Princes, incenſed at the haughtineſs and rigour with which the Duke of Brunſwick had been treated by the confederates of Smalkalde, were impatient to reſcue him, and to be revenged on them. Charles obſerved, with ſatisfaction, the working of theſe paſſions in their minds, and counting on them as ſure auxiliaries whenever he ſhould think it proper to act, he found it, meanwhile, more neceſſary to moderate than to inflame their rage.

Holds a diet at Ratiſbon.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, ſuch the diſcernment with which the Emperor foreſaw and provided for every event, when the diet of the Empire met at Ratiſbon. Many of the Roman Catholic members appeared there in perſon, but moſt of the confederates of Smalkalde, under pretence of their being unable to bear the expence occaſioned by the late unneceſſary frequency of ſuch aſſemblies, ſent only deputies. Their jealouſy of the Emperor, and apprehenſions that violence, perhaps, might be employed in order to force their approbation of what he ſhould propoſe in the diet, was the true cauſe of their abſence. The ſpeech with which the Emperor opened the diet was extremely artful. After profeſſing, in common form, his regard

regard for the proſperity of the Germanic body, and declaring that in order to beſtow his whole attention upon the re-eſtabliſhment of its order and tranquillity, he had at preſent abandoned all other cares, rejected the moſt preſſing ſollicitations of his other ſubjects to reſide among them, and poſtponed affairs of the greateſt importance; he took notice, with ſome indignation, that his diſintereſted example had not been imitated; many members of chief conſideration having neglected to attend an aſſembly to which he had repaired with ſuch manifeſt inconvenience to himſelf. He then mentioned their unhappy diſſenſions about religion; lamented the ill ſucceſs of his paſt endeavours to compoſe them; complained of the abrupt diſſolution of the late conference, and craved their advice with regard to the beſt and moſt effectual method of reſtoring union to the churches of Germany, together with that happy agreement in articles of faith, which their anceſtors had found to be of no leſs advantage to their civil intereſt, than becoming their Chriſtian profeſſion.

By this gracious and popular method of conſulting the members of the diet, rather than of obtruding upon them any opinion of his own, beſides the appearance of great moderation, and the merit of paying much reſpect to their judgment, the Emperor dextrouſly avoided diſcovering his own ſentiments, and reſerved to himſelf, as his only part, that of carrying into execution what they ſhould recommend. Nor was he leſs ſecure of ſuch a deciſion as he wiſhed for by referring it wholly to themſelves. The Roman Catholic members, prompted by their own zeal, or prepared by his intrigues, joined immediately in repreſenting that the authority of the council now met at Trent ought to be final in all matters of controverſy; that all

Book VIII. 1546. Chriſtians ſhould ſubmit to its decrees as the infallible rule of their faith; and therefore they beſought him to exert the power, with which he was inveſted by the Almighty, in protecting that aſſembly, and in compelling the Proteſtants to acquieſce in its determinations. The Proteſtants, on the other hand, preſented a memorial, in which, after repeating their objections to the council of Trent, they propoſed, as the only effectual method of deciding the points in diſpute, that either a free general council ſhould be aſſembled in Germany, or a national council of the Empire ſhould be called, or a ſelect number of divines ſhould be appointed out of each party to examine and define articles of faith; they mentioned the receſſes of ſeveral diets favourable to this propoſition, and which gave them hope of terminating all their differences in this amicable manner; they now conjured the Emperor not to depart from his former plan, and by offering violence to their conſciences to bring calamities upon Germany, the very thought of which muſt fill every lover of his country with horror. The Emperor receiving this paper, with a contemptuous ſmile, paid no farther regard to it. Having already taken his final reſolution, and perceiving that nothing but force could compel them to acquieſce in it, he diſpatched the

June 9. Cardinal of Trent to Rome, in order to conclude an alliance with the Pope, the terms of which were already agreed on; he commanded a body of troops, levied on purpoſe in the Low-Countries, to advance towards Germany; he gave commiſſions to ſeveral officers for raiſing men in different parts of the Empire; he warned John and Albert of Brandenburg, that now was the proper time of exerting themſelves, in order to reſcue their ally, Henry of Brunſwick, from captivity [f].

[f] Sleid. 374. Seck. iii. 658.

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ALL theſe things could not be tranſacted without the obſervation and knowledge of the Proteſtants. The ſecret was now in many hands; under whatever veil of artifice or ſecrecy the Emperor ſtill affected to conceal his deſigns, his officers kept no ſuch myſterious reſerve, and his allies and ſubjects ſpoke out his intentions plainly. Alarmed with reports of this kind, from every quarter, as well as with the preparations of war which they ſaw begun, the deputies of the confederates demanded audience of the Emperor, and in the name of their maſters, required to know whether theſe military preparations were carried on by his command, and for what end, and againſt what enemy. To a queſtion put in ſuch a tone, and at a time when facts were become too notorious to be denied, it was neceſſary to give an explicit anſwer. He owned the orders which he had iſſued, and profeſſing his purpoſe not to moleſt any on account of religion who ſhould act as dutiful ſubjects, declared that he had nothing in view but to maintain the rights and prerogatives of the Imperial dignity, and by puniſhing ſome factious members to preſerve the ancient conſtitution of the Empire from being impaired or diſſolved by their irregular and licentious conduct. Though the Emperor did not name the perſons whom he charged with ſuch high crimes, and deſtined to be the objects of his vengeance, it was obvious that he had the Elector of Saxony, and Landgrave of Heſſe in view. Their deputies conſidering what he had ſaid, as a plain declaration of his hoſtile intentions, immediately retired from Ratiſbon[g].

The Proteſtants alarmed.

THE Cardinal of Trent found it no difficult matter to treat with the Pope, who having at length brought the Emperor to

The Emperor's treaty with the Pope.

[g] Sleid. 376.

adopt

Book VIII. adopt that plan which he had long recommended, aſſented with eagerneſs to every article that he propoſed. The league was ſigned a few days after the Cardinal's arrival at Rome. The pernicious hereſies which abounded in Germany, the obſtinacy of the Proteſtants in rejecting the holy council aſſembled at Trent, and the neceſſity of maintaining ſound doctrine together with good order in the church, are mentioned as the motives of this union between the contracting parties. In order to check the growth of theſe evils, and to puniſh ſuch as had impiouſly contributed to ſpread them, the Emperor, having long and without ſucceſs made trial of gentler remedies, engaged inſtantly to take the field with a ſufficient army, that he might compel by force all who diſowned the council, or had apoſtatized from the religion of their forefathers to return into the boſom of the church, and to ſubmit with due obedience to the Holy See. He likewiſe bound himſelf not to conclude a peace with them during ſix months without the Pope's conſent, nor without aſſigning him his ſhare in any conqueſt which ſhould be made upon them; and that even after that period he ſhould not agree to any accommodation which might be detrimental to the church or to the intereſt of religion. On his part, the Pope ſtipulated to depoſite a large ſum in the bank of Venice towards defraying the expence of the war; to maintain at his own charge, during the ſpace of ſix months, twelve thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; to grant the Emperor for one year half of the eccleſiaſtical revenues throughout Spain; to authorize him by a bull to alienate as much of the lands belonging to religious houſes in that country, as would amount to the ſum of five hundred thouſand crowns; and to employ not only ſpiritual cenſures but military force againſt any

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any Prince who ſhould attempt to interrupt or defeat the execution of this treaty [b].

Endeavours ſtill to conceal his intentions from the Proteſtants.

NOTWITHSTANDING the explicit terms in which the extirpation of hereſy was declared to be the object of the war which was to follow upon this treaty, Charles ſtill endeavoured to perſuade the Germans that he had no deſign to abridge their religious liberty, but that he aimed only at vindicating his own authority, and repreſſing the inſolence of thoſe who had encroached upon it. With this view, he wrote circular letters, in the ſame ſtrain with his anſwer to the deputies at Ratiſbon, to moſt of the free cities, and to ſeveral of the Princes who had embraced the Proteſtant doctrines. In theſe he complained loudly, but in general terms, of the contempt into which the Imperial dignity had fallen, and of the preſumptuous as well as diſorderly behaviour of ſome members of the Empire. He declared that he now took arms, not in a religious but in a civil quarrel; not to oppreſs thoſe who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful ſubjects, but to humble the arrogance of ſuch as had thrown off all ſenſe of that ſubordination in which they were placed under him as head of the Germanic body. Groſs as this deception was, and manifeſt as it might have appeared to all who conſidered the Emperor's conduct with attention, it became neceſſary for him to make trial of its effect; and ſuch was the confidence and dexterity with which he employed it, that he derived the moſt ſolid advantages from this artifice. If he had avowed at once an intention of overturning the Proteſtant church, and of reducing all Germany under its ancient ſtate of ſubjection to the Papal See, none of the cities or Princes who had embraced

[b] Sleid. 381. Pallav. 255. Dumont Corps Diplom. II.

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the new opinions could have remained neutral after ſuch a declaration, far leſs could they have ventured to aſſiſt the Emperor in ſuch an enterprize. Whereas by concealing, and even diſclaiming any intention of that kind, he not only ſaved himſelf from the danger of being overwhelmed by a general confederacy of all the Proteſtant ſtates, but he furniſhed the timid with an excuſe for continuing inactive, and the deſigning or intereſted with a pretext for joining him without expoſing themſelves to the infamy of abandoning their own principles, or having an active hand in ſuppreſſing them. At the ſame time the Emperor well knew that if he were enabled, by their aſſiſtance, to break the power of the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave, he might afterwards preſcribe what terms he pleaſed to the feeble remains of a party without union or leaders, who would then regret, too late, their miſtaken confidence in him, and their inconſiderate deſertion of their aſſociates.

The Pope diſconcerts his plan.

THE Pope, by a ſudden and unforeſeen diſplay of his zeal, had well nigh diſconcerted this plan which the Emperor had formed with ſo much care and art. Proud of having been the author of ſuch a formidable confederacy againſt the Lutheran hereſy, and happy in thinking that the glory of extirpating it was reſerved for his Pontificate, he publiſhed the articles of his league with the Emperor as a proof of their pious intention, as well as of the extraordinary efforts which he himſelf was about to make for maintaining the faith in its purity. Not ſatisfied with this, he ſoon after iſſued a bull containing moſt liberal promiſes of indulgence to all who ſhould engage in this holy enterprize, together with warm exhortations to ſuch as could not bear a part in it themſelves, to increaſe the fervour of their prayers, and the ſeverity of their mortifications, that they might draw down the bleſſing

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of heaven upon thoſe who undertook it[j]. Nor was it zeal alone which puſhed the Pope to make declarations ſo inconſiſtent with the account which the Emperor himſelf gave of his motives for taking arms. He was much ſcandalized at Charles's diſſimulation in ſuch a cauſe; at his ſeeming to be aſhamed of owning his zeal for the church; and at his endeavours to make that paſs for a political conteſt, which he ought to have gloried in as a war which had no other object than the defence of religion. With as much ſolicitude, therefore, as the Emperor laboured to diſguiſe the purpoſe of the confederacy, did the Pope endeavour to publiſh their real plan, in order that they might come at once to a rupture with the Proteſtants, that all hope of reconcilement might be cut off, and that Charles might be under fewer temptations, and have it leſs in his power than at preſent, to betray the intereſts of the church by any accommodation beneficial to himſelf[k].

THE Emperor, though not a little offended at the Pope's indiſcretion or malice in making this diſcovery, continued boldly to purſue his own plan, and to aſſert his intentions to be no other than what he had originally avowed. Several of the Proteſtant ſtates, whom he had previouſly gained, thought themſelves juſtified in ſome meaſure, by his declarations, for abandoning their aſſociates, and even for giving aſſiſtance to him.

The preparations of the Proteſtants for their own defence.

BUT theſe artifices did not impoſe on the greater and ſounder part of the Proteſtant confederates. They clearly perceived it to be againſt the reformed religion that the Emperor had taken arms,

[j] Du Mont Corps Diplom.

[k] F. Paul, 188. Thuan. Hiſt. i. 61.

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and that not only the ſuppreſſion of it, but the extinction of the German liberties, would be the certain conſequence of his obtaining ſuch an entire ſuperiority as would enable him to execute his ſchemes in their full extent. They determined, therefore, to prepare for their own defence, and neither to renounce thoſe religious truths to the knowledge of which they had attained by means ſo wonderful, nor to abandon thoſe civil rights which had been tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors. In order to give the neceſſary directions for this purpoſe, their deputies met at Ulm, ſoon after their abrupt departure from Ratiſbon. Their deliberations were now conducted with ſuch vigour and unanimity, as the imminent danger which threatened them required. The contingent of troops, which each of the confederates was to furniſh having been fixed by the original treaty of union, orders were given for bringing them immediately into the field. Being ſenſible, at laſt, that through the narrow prejudices of ſome of their members, and the imprudent ſecurity of others, they had neglected too long to ſtrengthen themſelves by foreign alliances, they now applied with great earneſtneſs to the Venetians and Swiſs.

They ſollicit the aid of the Venetians.

To the former, they repreſented the Emperor's intention of overturning the preſent ſyſtem of Germany, and of raiſing himſelf to abſolute power in that country by means of foreign force furniſhed by the Pope; they warned them how fatal this event would prove to the liberties of Italy, and that by ſuffering Charles to acquire unlimited authority in the one country, they would ſoon feel his dominion to be no leſs deſpotic in the other; they beſought them, therefore, not to grant a paſſage thro' their territories to thoſe troops, which ought to be treated as common enemies, becauſe by ſubduing Germany they prepared

chains for the reſt of Europe. Theſe reflections had not eſcaped the ſagacity of thoſe wiſe republicans. They had communicated their ſentiments to the Pope, and had endeavoured to divert him from an alliance which tended to render irreſiſtible the power of a potentate, whoſe ambition he already knew to be boundleſs. But they had found Paul ſo eager in the proſecution of his own plan, that he diſregarded all their remonſtrances[l]. They would do nothing more towards preventing the dangers which they foreſaw; and in return to the application from the confederates of Smalkalde, informed them, that they could not obſtruct the march of the Pope's troops through an open country, but by levying an army ſtrong enough to face them in the field, and that this would draw upon themſelves the whole weight of his as well as of the Emperor's indignation. For the ſame reaſon they declined lending a ſum of money, which the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave propoſed to borrow of them, towards carrying on the war[m].

Of the Swiſs.

THEIR demands upon the Swiſs were not confined to the obſtructing of the entrance of foreigners into Germany; they required of them, as the neareſt neighbours, and cloſeſt allies of the Empire, to interpoſe with their wonted vigour for the preſervation of its liberties, and not to ſtand as inactive ſpectators, while their brethren were oppreſſed and enſlaved. But with what zeal ſoever the reformed cantons might have been diſpoſed to act when the cauſe of the Reformation was in danger, the Helvetic body was ſo divided with regard to religion, as rendered it unſafe for the Proteſtants to take any ſtep without con-

[l] Adriani Iſtoria di ſuoi tempi, liv. v. p. 332.

[m] Sleid. 381. Paruta Iſtor. Venet. tom. iv. 180. Lambertus Hortenſius de bello Germânico apud Scardium, vol. ii. p. 547.

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ſulting their aſſociates; and among them the emiſſaries of the Pope and Emperor had ſuch influence, that a reſolution of maintaining an exact neutrality between the contending parties, was the utmoſt which could be procured [n].

Of Francis I. and Henry VIII.

BEING diſappointed in both theſe applications, they not long after had recourſe to the Kings of France and England; the approach of danger either overcoming the Elector of Saxony's ſcruples, or obliging him to yield to the importunities of his confederates. The ſituation of the two Monarchs flattered them with hopes of ſucceſs. Hoſtilities between them had continued for ſome time after the peace of Creſpy. But becoming weary at laſt of a war, attended with no glory or advantage to either, they had lately terminated all their differences by a peace concluded at Campe near Ardres. Francis having with great difficulty procured his allies, the Scots, to be included in the treaty, in return for that conceſſion he engaged to pay a great ſum, which Henry demanded as due to him on ſeveral accounts, and he left Bologne in the hands of the Engliſh as a pledge for his faithful performance of that article. But though the re-eſtabliſhment of peace ſeemed to leave the two Monarchs at liberty to turn their attention towards Germany, ſo unfortunate were the Proteſtants, that they derived no immediate advantage from this circumſtance. Henry appeared unwilling to enter into any alliance with them, but on ſuch conditions as would render him not only the head, but the ſupreme director of their league; a pre-eminence which, as the bonds of union or intereſt between them were but feeble, and as he differed from them ſo widely in his religious ſentiments, they had no inclination to

[n] Sleid. 392.

admit.

admit[o]. Francis, more powerfully inclined by political conſiderations to furniſh them with aſſiſtance, found his kingdom ſo much exhauſted by a long war, and was ſo much afraid of irritating the Pope by entering into cloſe union with excommunicated Heretics, that he durſt not undertake the protection of the Smalkaldic league. By this ill-timed caution, or ſuperſtitious deference to ſcruples, to which at other times he was not much addicted, he loſt the moſt promiſing opportunity of mortifying and diſtreſſing his rival, which preſented itſelf during his whole reign.

Proteſtants take the field with a great army.

BUT, notwithſtanding their ill ſucceſs in their negociations with foreign courts, the confederates found no difficulty at home, in bringing a ſufficient force into the field. Germany abounded at that time in inhabitants; the feudal inſtitutions ſubſiſted in full force, and enabled the nobles to call out their numerous vaſſals, and to put them in motion on the ſhorteſt warning; the martial ſpirit of the Germans, not broken or enervated by the introduction of commerce and arts, had acquired additional vigour during the continual wars in which they had been employed, for half a century, either in the pay of the Emperors, or Kings of France. Upon every opportunity of entering into ſervice, they were accuſtomed to run eagerly to arms; and to every ſtandard that was erected, voluntiers flocked from all quarters[p]. Zeal ſeconded, on this occaſion, their native ardour. Men, on whom the doctrines of the Reformation had made that deep impreſſion which accompanies truth when firſt diſcovered, prepared to maintain it with proportional vigour; and among a warlike people, it appeared infamous to remain

[o] Rymer, xv. 93. Herbert, 258.

[p] Seck. l. iii. 161.

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inactive, when the defence of religion was the motive for taking arms. Accident combined with all theſe circumſtances in facilitating the levy of ſoldiers among the confederates. A conſiderable number of Germans in the pay of France, being diſmiſſed by the King on the proſpect of peace with England, joined in a body the ſtandard of the Proteſtants [q]. By ſuch a concurrence of cauſes, they were enabled to aſſemble in a few weeks an army compoſed of ſeventy thouſand foot and fifteen thouſand horſe; provided with a train of an hundred and twenty cannon, eight hundred ammunition waggons, eight thouſand beaſts of burden, and ſix thouſand pioneers [r]. Nor was this army, one of the moſt numerous, and undoubtedly the beſt appointed of any which had been levied in Europe during that century, raiſed by the united effort of the whole Proteſtant body. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Princes of Anhalt, and the Imperial cities of Auſbourg, Ulm, and Straſburg, were the only powers which contributed towards this great armament: The Electors of Cologne, of Brandenbourg, and the Count Palatine, overawed by the Emperor's threats, or deceived by his profeſſions, remained neuter. John marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and Albert of Brandenburg Anſpach, though both early converts to Lutheraniſm, entered openly into the Emperor's ſervice, under pretext of having obtained his promiſe for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion; and Maurice of Saxony ſoon followed their example.

The inequality of the Emperor's forces to theirs.

THE immenſe number of their troops, as well as the amazing rapidity wherewith they had aſſembled them, aſtoniſhed the Em-

[q] Thuan. l. i. 68. [r] Thuan. l. i. 601. Ludovici ab Avila & Zunga Commentariorum de bel. Germ. lib. Duo Antw. 1550. 12mo. p. 13, a.

peror,

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peror, and filled him with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions. He was, indeed, in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a mighty force. Shut up in Ratiſbon, a town of no great ſtrength, whoſe inhabitants, being moſtly Lutherans, would have been more ready to betray than to aſſiſt him, with only three thouſand Spaniſh foot, whom he had called from the frontiers of Hungary, and about five thouſand Germans who had joined him from different parts of the Empire, he muſt have been overwhelmed by the approach of ſuch a numerous army, which he could not fight, nor even hope to retreat from it in ſafety. The Pope's troops, though in full march to his relief, had ſcarce reached the frontiers of Germany; the forces which he expected from the Low-Countries had not yet begun to move, and were even far from being complete[a]. His ſituation, however, called for more immediate ſuccour, nor did it ſeem practicable for him to wait for ſuch diſtant auxiliaries, with whom his junction was ſo precarious.

They imprudently negociate inſtead of acting.

BUT it happened fortunately for Charles, that the confederates did not avail themſelves of the advantage which lay ſo full in their view. In civil wars, the firſt ſteps are commonly taken with much timidity and heſitation. Men are ſollicitous, at that time, to put on the ſemblance of moderation and equity; they ſtrive to gain partizans by ſeeming to adhere ſtrictly to known forms; nor can they be brought, at once, to violate thoſe eſtabliſhed inſtitutions, which in times of tranquillity they have been accuſtomed to reverence; hence their proceedings are often feeble or dilatory when they ought to be moſt vigorous and deciſive. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, which, happily for the peace of ſociety, operate powerfully on the human mind, the

[a] Sleid. 389. Avila, 8, a.

confe-

Book VIII. 1546. confederates could not think of throwing off that allegiance which they regularly owed to the head of the Empire, or of turning their arms againſt him without one ſolemn appeal more to his candour, and to the impartial judgment of their fellow ſubjects. For this purpoſe, they addreſſed a letter to the Emperor, and a manifeſto to all the inhabitants of Germany. The tenor of both was the ſame. They repreſented their own conduct with regard to civil affairs as dutiful and ſubmiſſive; they mentioned the inviolable union in which they had lived with the Emperor, as well as the many and recent marks of his good-will and gratitude wherewithal they had been honoured; they aſſerted religion to be the ſole cauſe of the violence which the Emperor now meditated againſt them; and in proof of this adduced many arguments to convince thoſe who were ſo weak as to be deceived by the artifices with which he endeavoured to cover his real intentions; they declared their own reſolution to riſque every thing in maintenance of their religious rights, and foretold the diſſolution of the German conſtitution, if the Emperor ſhould finally prevail againſt them [t].

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The Emperor puts them under the ban of the Empire.

BUT Charles, though in ſuch a perilous ſituation as might have inſpired him with moderate ſentiments, appeared as inflexible and haughty as if his affairs had been in the moſt proſperous ſtate. His only reply to the addreſs and manifeſto of the Proteſtants, was to publiſh the ban of the Empire againſt the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, their leaders, and againſt all who ſhould dare to aſſiſt them. By this ſentence, the ultimate and moſt rigorous one which the German juriſprudence has pro-

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[t] Sleid. 384.

vided

vided for the puniſhment of traitors, or enemies to their country, they were declared rebels and outlaws, and deprived of every privilege which they enjoyed as members of the Germanic body; their goods were confiſcated; their ſubjects abſolved from their oath of allegiance; and it became not only lawful but meritorious to invade their territories. The nobles, and free cities, who framed or perfected the conſtitution of the German government, had not been ſo negligent of their own ſafety and privileges as to truſt the Emperor with this formidable juriſdiction. The authority of a diet of the Empire ought to have been interpoſed before any of its members could be put under the ban. But Charles overlooked that formality, well knowing that, if his arms were crowned with ſucceſs, there would remain none who would have either power or courage to call in queſtion what he had done [u]. The Emperor, however, did not found his ſentence againſt the Elector and Landgrave on their revolt from the eſtabliſhed church, or their conduct with regard to religion, he affected to aſſign for it reaſons purely civil, and theſe too expreſſed in ſuch general and ambiguous terms, without ſpecifying the nature or circumſtances of their guilt, as rendered it more like an act of deſpotic power than of a legal and limited juriſdiction. Nor was it altogether from choice, or to conceal his intentions that Charles had recourſe to the ambiguity of general expreſſions, he durſt not mention too particularly the cauſes of his ſentence, as every action which he could have charged upon the Elector and Landgrave as a crime, might have been employed with equal juſtice to condemn ſuch of the Proteſtants whom he ſtill pretended to conſider as faithful ſubjects, and

[u] Sleid. 386. Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11. 314. Pfeffel Hiſt. Abregè du Droit Publ. 168. 736. 158.

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whom it would have been extremely imprudent to alarm or diſguſt.

They declare war againſt Charles.

THE confederates, now perceiving all hopes of accommodation to be at an end, had only to chuſe whether they would ſubmit without reſerve to the Emperor's will, or proceed to open hoſtilities. Nor did they want public ſpirit and reſolution to make the proper choice. A few days after the ban of the Empire was publiſhed, they according to the cuſtom of that age, ſent a herald to the Imperial camp with a ſolemn declaration of war againſt Charles, to whom they no longer gave any other title than that of pretended Emperor, and renounced all allegiance, homage or duty which he might claim, or they had hitherto yielded to him. But previous to this formality, part of their troops had begun to act. The command of a conſiderable body of men raiſed by the city of Augſburg having been given to Sebaſtian Schertel, a ſoldier of fortune, who by the booty that he got when the Imperialiſts plundered Rome, together with the merit of long ſervice, had acquired wealth and authority which placed him on a level with the chief of the German nobles; that gallant veteran reſolved before he joined the main body of the confederates, to attempt ſomething ſuitable to his former fame and to the expectation of his countrymen. As the Pope's forces were haſtening towards Tyrol, in order to penetrate into Germany by the narrow paſſes through the mountains which run acroſs that country, he advanced thither with the utmoſt rapidity, and ſeized Ehrenberg and Cuffſtein, two ſtrong caſtles which commanded the principal defiles. Without ſtopping a moment, he continued his march towards Inſpruck, by getting poſſeſſion of which he would have obliged the Italians to ſtop ſhort, and with a ſmall body of men could have

Their firſt operations.

resisted all the efforts of the greatest armies. Castlealto, the governor of Trent, knowing what a fatal blow this would be to the Emperor, all whose designs must have proved abortive if his Italian auxiliaries had been intercepted, raised a few troops with the utmost dispatch and threw himself into the town. Schertel, however, did not abandon the enterprize, and was preparing to attack the place, when the intelligence of the approach of the Italians, and an order from the Elector and Landgrave obliged him to desist. By his retreat the passes were left open, and the Italians entered Germany without any opposition, but from the garrisons that Schertel had placed in Ehrenberg and Cufftein, which having no hopes of being relieved, were not long of surrendering [x] *.

and ill conduct.

Nor was the recalling of Schertel the only error of which the confederates were guilty. As the supreme command of their army was committed, in terms of the league of Smalkalde, to the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse with equal authority, all the inconveniencies arising from a divided and co-ordinate jurisdiction, which is always of fatal consequence in the

[x] Seckend. lib. ii. 70. Adriani Istoria di suoi tempi, lib. 335.

* Seckendorf the industrious author of the Commentarius Apologeticus de Lutheranismo, whom I have so long and safely followed as my guide in German affairs, was descended from Schertel. With the care and sollicitude of a German, who was himself of noble birth, Seckendorf has published a long digression concerning his ancestor, calculated chiefly to shew how Schertel was ennobled, and his posterity allied to many of the most ancient families in the Empire. Among other curious particulars, he gives us an account of his wealth, the chief source of which was the plunder he got at Rome. His landed estate was sold by his grandsons for six hundred thousand florins. By this we may form some idea of the riches amassed by the *Condottieri* or commanders of mercenary bands in that age. At the taking of Rome Schertel was only a captain. Seckend. lib. ii. 73.

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operations of war, were immediately felt. The Elector, though intrepid in his own perſon to exceſs, and moſt ardently zealous in the cauſe, was ſlow in deliberating, uncertain as well as irreſolute in his determinations, and conſtantly preferred meaſures which were cautious and ſafe to ſuch as were bold or deciſive. The Landgrave, of a more active and enterprizing nature, formed all his reſolutions with promptitude, wiſhed to execute them with ſpirit, and uniformly preferred ſuch ſchemes as tended to bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy iſſue. Thus their maxims, with regard to the conduct of the war, differed as widely as thoſe by which they were influenced in preparing for it. Such perpetual contrariety in their ſentiments gave riſe, imperceptibly, to jealouſy and the ſpirit of contention. Theſe multiplied the diſſenſions flowing from the incompatibility of their natural temper, and rendered them more violent. The other members of the league conſidering themſelves as independant, and ſubject to the Elector and Landgrave, only in conſequence of the articles of a voluntary confederacy, did not long retain a proper veneration for commanders, who proceeded with ſo little unanimity; and the numerous army of the Proteſtants, like a vaſt machine whoſe parts are ill compacted, and which is deſtitute of any power ſufficient to move and regulate the whole, acted with no conſiſtency, vigour or effect.

The Pope's troops join the Emperor.

THE Emperor, who was afraid that, by remaining at Ratiſbon, he would render it impoſſible for the Pope's forces to join him, having boldly advanced to Landſhut on the Iſer, the confederates loſt ſome days in deliberating whether it was proper to follow him into the territories of the Duke of Bavaria, a neutral Prince. When at laſt they ſurmounted that ſcruple, and began to move towards his camp, they ſuddenly abandoned the

deſign,

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design, and hastened to attack Ratisbon, in which town Charles could leave only a small garrison. Meanwhile the Papal troops, amounting fully to that number which Paul had stipulated to furnish, reached Landshut, and were soon followed by six thousand Spaniards of the veteran bands stationed in Naples. The confederates, after Schertel's spirited but fruitless expedition, seem to have permitted these forces to advance unmolested to the place of rendezvous, without any attempt to attack either them or the Emperor separately, or to prevent their junction[x]. The Imperial army amounted now to thirty-six thousand men, and was still more formidable by the discipline and valour of the troops, than by their number. Avila, commendador of Alcantara, who had been present in all the wars carried on by Charles, and had served in the armies which gained the memorable victory at Pavia, which conquered Tunis, and invaded France, gives this the preference to any martial force he had ever seen assembled[y]. Octavio Farnese, the Pope's grandson, assisted by the ablest officers formed in the long wars between Charles and Francis, commanded the Italian auxiliaries. His brother, the Cardinal Farnese, accompanied him, as Papal legate; and in order to give the war the appearance of a religious enterprize, he proposed to march at the head of the army, with a cross carried before him, and to publish Indulgences wherever he came to all who should give them any assistance, as had anciently been the practice in the Cruzades against the Infidels. But this the Emperor strictly prohibited, as inconsistent with all the declarations which he had made to the Germans of his own party; and the legate perceiving, to his astonishment, that the exercise of the Protestant religion, the extirpation of which he con-

[x] Adriani Istoria di suoi tempi, lib. v. 340.

[y] Avila, 18.

Book VIII. 1546. ſidered as the ſole object of the war, was publickly permitted in the Imperial camp, ſoon returned in diſguſt to Italy [z].

THE arrival of theſe troops enabled the Emperor to ſend ſuch a reinforcement to the garriſon of Ratiſbon, that the confederates relinquiſhing all hopes of reducing that town, marched towards Ingoldſtadt on the Danube, near to which Charles was now encamped. Meanwhile they exclaimed loudly againſt the Emperor's notorious violation of the laws and conſtitution of the Empire, in having called in foreigners to lay waſte Germany, and to oppreſs its liberties. As in that age, the dominion of the Roman See was ſo odious to the Proteſtants, that the name of the Pope alone was ſufficient to inſpire them with horror at any enterprize which he countenanced, and to raiſe in their minds the blackeſt ſuſpicions, it came to be univerſally believed among them, that Paul, not ſatisfied with attacking them openly by force of arms, had diſperſed his emiſſaries all over Germany to ſet on fire their towns and magazines, and to poiſon the wells and fountains of water. Nor did this rumour ſpread only among the vulgar, being extravagant as well as frightful enough to make a deep impreſſion on their credulity; even the leaders of the party, blinded by their prejudices, publiſhed a declaration, in which they accuſed the Pope of having employed theſe Antichriſtian and diabolical arts againſt them [a]. Theſe ſentiments of the confederates were confirmed, in ſome meaſure, by the behaviour of the Papal troops, who, thinking nothing too rigorous towards Heretics anathematized by the church, were guilty of great exceſſes in the Lutheran territories, and

[z] F. Paul. 191. [a] Sleid. 399.

aggravated

aggravated the calamities of war, by mingling with it all the cruelty of bigotted zeal. Book VIII. 1546.

THE firſt operations in the field, however, did not correſpond with the violence of thoſe paſſions which animated individuals. The Emperor had prudently taken the reſolution of avoiding an action with an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number[b], eſpecially as he foreſaw that nothing could keep a body compoſed of ſo many and ſuch diſſimilar members, from falling to pieces, but the preſſing to attack it with an inconſiderate precipitancy. The confederates, though it was no leſs evident that to them every moment's delay was pernicious, were ſtill prevented by the weakneſs or diviſion of their leaders from exerting that vigour, with which their ſituation as well as the ardour of their ſoldiers ought to have inſpired them. On their arrival at Ingoldſtadt, they found the Emperor in a camp not remarkable for ſtrength, and ſurrounded only by a ſlight entrenchment. Before the camp lay a plain of ſuch extent, as afforded ſufficient ſpace for drawing out their whole army, and bringing it to act at once. Every conſideration ſhould have determined them to have ſeized this opportunity of attacking the Emperor; and their vaſt ſuperiority in numbers, the eagerneſs of their troops, together with the ſtability of the German infantry in pitched battles, afforded them the moſt probable expectation of victory. The Landgrave urged this with great warmth, declaring that if the ſole command were veſted in him, he would terminate the war on that occaſion, and decide by one general action the fate of the two parties. But the Elector, reflecting on the valour and diſcipline of the enemies forces, animated by the preſence of the Emperor, and conducted

The confederates advance towards the Imperial army.

Aug. 29.

[b] Avila, 78, a.

by

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by the beſt officers of the age, would not venture upon an action, which he thought to be ſo doubtful, as the attacking ſuch a body of veterans on ground which they themſelves had choſen, and while covered by fortifications which, tho' imperfect, would afford them no ſmall advantage in the combat. Notwithſtanding his heſitation and remonſtrances, it was agreed, to advance towards the enemies camp in battle array, in order to make trial whether by that inſult, and by a furious canonade which they began, they could draw the Imperialiſts out of their works. But the Emperor had too much ſagacity to fall into this ſnare. He adhered to his own ſyſtem with inflexible conſtancy; and drawing up his ſoldiers behind their trenches, that they might be ready to receive the confederates if they ſhould venture upon an aſſault, calmly waited their approach, and carefully reſtrained his own men from any excurſions or ſkirmiſhes that might bring on an engagement. Meanwhile, he rode along the lines, and addreſſing the troops of the different nations in their own language, encouraged them by the chearfulneſs of his voice and countenance; he expoſed himſelf in places of greateſt danger, and amidſt the warmeſt fire of the enemies artillery, the moſt numerous that had hitherto been brought into the field by any army. Rouzed by his example, not a man quitted his ranks; it was thought infamous to diſcover any ſymptom of fear when the Emperor appeared ſo intrepid; and the meaneſt ſoldier plainly perceived, that their declining the combat at preſent was not the effect of timidity in their general, but the reſult of a well weighed caution. The confederates, after firing ſeveral hours on the Imperialiſts, with more noiſe and terror than execution, ſeeing no proſpect of alluring them to fight on equal terms, retired to their own camp. The Emperor employed the

The Emperor declines a battle.

night

night with such diligence in strengthening his works, that the confederates, returning to the canonade next day, found that, though they had now been willing to venture upon such a bold experiment, the opportunity of making an attack with advantage was lost [c].

The Flemish troops join the Emperor.

After such a discovery of their own feebleness or irresolution, and of the prudence as well as firmness of the Emperor's conduct, the confederates turned their whole attention towards preventing the arrival of a powerful reinforcement of ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which the count de Büren was bringing to the Emperor from the Low-Countries. But though that general had to traverse such an extent of country; though his route lay through the territories of several states warmly disposed to favour the confederates; though they were apprized of his approach, and by their vast superiority in numbers might easily have detached a force sufficient to overpower him, he advanced with such rapidity, and by such well concerted movements, while they opposed him with such remissness, and so little military skill, that he conducted this body to the Imperial camp without any loss [d]. Sept. 10.

After the arrival of the Flemings, in whom he placed great confidence, the Emperor altered, in some degree, his plan of operations, and began to act more upon the offensive, though he still avoided a battle with the utmost industry. He made himself master of Neuburg, Dillingen, and Donawert on the Danube;

[c] Sleid. 395, 397. Avila 27. a. Lamb. Hortens. ap. Leard. ii.
[d] Sleid. 403.

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of Nordlingen, and ſeveral other towns, ſituated on the moſt conſiderable ſtreams that fall into that mighty river. By this he got the command of a great extent of country, though not without being obliged to engage in ſeveral ſharp encounters, of which the ſucceſs was various, nor without the moſt imminent danger oftener than once of being drawn into a battle. In this manner the whole autumn was ſpent; neither party gained any remarkable ſuperiority over the other, and nothing was yet done towards bringing the war to a period. The Emperor had often foretold, with confidence, that diſcord and the want of money would compel the confederates to diſperſe that unwieldy body, which they had neither abilities to guide, nor funds to ſupport [e]; but though he waited with impatience for the accompliſhment of his prediction, there was no proſpect of that event being at hand. Meanwhile, he himſelf began to ſuffer from the want of forage and proviſions; even the Catholic provinces being ſo much incenſed at the introduction of foreigners into the Empire, that they ſupplied them with reluctance, while the camp of the confederates abounded with a profuſion of all neceſſaries, which the zeal of their friends in the adjacent countries furniſhed with the utmoſt liberality and good-will. Great numbers of the Italians and Spaniards, unaccuſtomed to the climate or food of Germany, were become unfit for ſervice through ſickneſs [f]. Conſiderable arrears were now due to the troops, who had ſcarce received any money from the beginning of the campaign; the Emperor, experiencing on this as well as on former occaſions, that his juriſdiction was more extenſive than his revenues, and

State of both armies.

[e] Belli Smalkaldici Commentarius Græco ſermone ſcriptus a Joach. Camerario ap. Freherum, Vol. iii. p. 479.

[f] Camerar. ap. Freher. 483.

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that the former enabled him to aſſemble a greater number of ſoldiers, than the latter were ſufficient to pay. Upon all theſe accounts, he found it difficult to keep his army in the field; ſome of his ableſt generals, and even the Duke of Alva himſelf, perſevering and obſtinate as he uſually was in the proſecution of every meaſure, adviſing him to diſperſe his troops into winter-quarters. But as the arguments urged againſt any plan which he had adopted, rarely made much impreſſion upon the Emperor, he paid no regard to their opinion, and determined to continue his efforts in order to weary out the confederates; being well aſſured that if he could once oblige them to ſeparate, there was little probability of their uniting again in a body [z]. Still, however, it remained a doubtful point, whether his ſteadineſs was moſt likely to fail, or their zeal to be exhauſted. It was ſtill uncertain which party, by firſt dividing its forces, would give the ſuperiority to the other; when an unexpected event decided the conteſt, and occaſioned a fatal reverſe in the affairs of the confederates.

The ſchemes of Maurice of Saxony.

MAURICE of Saxony having, by the arts which have already been deſcribed, inſinuated himſelf into the Emperor's confidence, no ſooner ſaw hoſtilities ready to break out between him and the confederates of Smalkalde, than vaſt proſpects of ambition began to open upon him. That portion of Saxony, which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, was far from ſatisfying his aſpiring mind; and he perceived with pleaſure the approach of civil war, as amidſt the revolutions or convulſions which it occaſions, opportunities which at other times are ſought in vain, of acquiring new power as well as additional dignity, preſent themſelves to an enterprizing ſpirit. As he was

[z] Thuan. 83.

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thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of the two contending parties, and the qualities of their leaders, he did not heſitate long in determining on which ſide the greateſt advantages were to be expected. Having revolved all theſe things in his own mind, and having taken his final reſolution of joining the Emperor, he prudently determined to declare early in his favour; that, by the merit of this, he might acquire a title to a proportional recompence. With this view, he had repaired to Ratiſbon in the month of May, under pretext of attending the diet; and after many conferences with Charles or his miniſters, he concluded, though with the moſt myſterious ſecrecy, a treaty in which he engaged to concur in aſſiſting the Emperor as a faithful ſubject; and Charles, in return, ſtipulated to beſtow on him all the ſpoils of the Elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories[h]. Hiſtory ſcarce records any treaty which can be conſidered as a more manifeſt violation of the moſt powerful principles which ought to influence human actions. Maurice, a profeſſed Proteſtant, at a time when the belief of religion, as well as zeal for it intereſts, took ſtrong poſſeſſion of every mind, binds himſelf to contribute his aſſiſtance towards carrying on a war, which had manifeſtly no other object than the extirpation of the Proteſtant doctrines. He engages to take arms againſt his father-in-law, and to ſtrip his neareſt relation of his honours and dominions. He joins a dubious friend againſt a known benefactor, to whom his obligations were both great and recent. Nor was the Prince who ventured upon all this, one of thoſe audacious politicians, who, provided they can accompliſh their ends, and ſecure their intereſt, diſregard avowedly the moſt ſacred obligations, and glory in contemning whatever is honourable or decent. Mau-

His league with the Emperor.

[h] Haræc. Annal. Brabant. vol. i. 638. Struvii Corp. 1048. Thuan. 84.

rice's conduct, if the whole muſt be aſcribed to policy, was more artful and maſterly; he executed his plan in all its parts, and yet endeavoured to preſerve, in every ſtep which he took, the appearance of what was fair, and virtuous, and laudable. It is probable, from his ſubſequent behaviour, that with regard to the Proteſtant religion at leaſt, his intentions were upright, that he fondly truſted to the Emperor's promiſes for its ſecurity, but that, according to the fate of all who refine too much in policy, and who tread in dark and crooked paths, in attempting to deceive others, he himſelf was, in ſome degree, deceived.

His artifices in order to conceal his intentions.

His firſt care, however, was to keep theſe engagements with the Emperor cloſely concealed: and ſo perfect a maſter was he in the art of diſſimulation, that the confederates, notwithſtanding his declining all connections with them, and his remarkable aſſiduity in paying court to the Emperor, ſeemed to have entertained no ſuſpicion of his deſigns. Even the Elector of Saxony, when he marched at the beginning of the campaign to join his aſſociates, committed his dominions to his protection, which Maurice, with an inſidious appearance of friendſhip, readily undertook[1]. But ſcarce had the Elector taken the field, when Maurice began to conſult privately with the King of the Romans how to invade thoſe very territories, with the defence of which he was entruſted. Soon after, the Emperor ſent him a copy of the Imperial ban denounced againſt the Elector and Landgrave. As he was next heir to the former, and particularly intereſted in preventing ſtrangers from getting his dominions into their poſſeſſion, Charles required him, not only for his own ſake, but upon the allegiance and duty which he owed to the head of the

[1] Struvii Corp. 1046.

Empire,

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Empire, inſtantly to ſeize and detain in his hands the forfeited eſtates of the Elector; warning him, at the ſame time, that if he neglected to obey theſe commands, he ſhould be held as acceſſary to the crimes of his kinſman, and be liable to the ſame puniſhment [k].

This artifice, which it is probable Maurice himſelf ſuggeſted, was employed by him in order that his conduct towards the Elector might ſeem a matter of neceſſity but not of choice, an act of obedience to his ſuperior, rather than a voluntary invaſion of the rights of his kinſman and ally. But in order to give ſome more ſpecious appearance to this thin veil with which he endeavoured to cover his ambition, he had called together, ſoon after his return from Ratiſbon, the ſtates of his country; and repreſenting to them that a civil war between the Emperor and confederates of Smalkalde was now become unavoidable, deſired their advice with regard to the part which he ſhould act in that event. They being prepared, no doubt, and tutored before-hand, as well as deſirous of gratifying their Prince, whom they both eſteemed and loved, gave ſuch counſel as they knew would be moſt agreeable; adviſing him to offer his mediation towards reconciling the contending parties; but if that were rejected, and he could obtain proper ſecurity for the Proteſtant religion, they delivered it as their opinion that he ought, in all other points, to yield obedience to the Emperor. Upon receiving the Imperial reſcript, together with the ban againſt the Elector and Landgrave, he ſummoned the ſtates of his country a ſecond time; he laid before them the orders which he had received, and the puniſhment with which he was threatened in caſe of diſobedience; he acquaint-

[k] Sleid. 391. Thuan. 84.

ed

ed them that the confederates had refuſed to admit of his mediation, and that the Emperor had given him the moſt ſatisfactory declarations with regard to religion; he mentioned his own intereſt in ſecuring poſſeſſion of the electoral dominions, together with the danger of allowing ſtrangers to obtain an eſtabliſhment in Saxony; and upon the whole, as the point under deliberation reſpected his ſubjects no leſs than himſelf, he deſired to know their ſentiments how he ſhould ſteer in that difficult and arduous conjuncture. The ſtates, no leſs obſequious and complaiſant, than formerly, relying on the Emperor's promiſes as a perfect ſecurity for their religion, propoſed that, before he had recourſe to more violent methods, they would write to the Elector, exhorting him, as the beſt means of appeaſing the Emperor, and of preventing his dominions from being ſeized by foreign or hoſtile powers, to give his conſent that Maurice ſhould take poſſeſſion of them quietly and without oppoſition. Maurice himſelf ſeconded their arguments in a letter to the Landgrave, his father-in-law. Such an extravagant propoſition was rejected with the ſcorn and indignation which it deſerved. The Landgrave, in return to Maurice, taxed him with his treachery and ingratitude towards a kinſman to whom he was ſo deeply indebted; he treated with contempt his affectation of executing the Imperial ban, which he could not but know to be altogether void, by the unconſtitutional and arbitrary manner in which it had been iſſued; he beſought him, not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far blinded by ambition, as to forget the obligations of honour and friendſhip, or to betray the Proteſtant religion, the extirpation of which out of Germany, even by the acknowledgment of the Pope himſelf, was the great object of the preſent war[1].

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[1] Sleid. 405, &c. Thuan. 85. Camerar. 484.

But

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He invades the territories of the Elector of Saxony.

November.

But Maurice had proceeded too far to be diverted from purſuing his plan by reproaches or arguments. Nothing now remained but to execute with vigour, what he had hitherto carried on by artifice and diſſimulation. Nor was his boldneſs in action inferior to his ſubtlety in contrivance. Having aſſembled about twelve thouſand men, he ſuddenly invaded one part of the electoral provinces, while Ferdinand with an army compoſed of Bohemians and Hungarians over-ran the other. Maurice, in two ſharp encounters, defeated the troops which the Elector had left to guard his country; and improving theſe advantages to the utmoſt, made himſelf maſter of the whole Electorate, except Wittemberg, Gotha and Eiſenach, which being places of conſiderable ſtrength, and defended by ſufficient garriſons, refuſed to open their gates. The news of theſe rapid conqueſts ſoon reached the Imperial and confederate camps. In the former, their ſatisfaction with an event, which it was foreſeen would be productive of the moſt important conſequences, was expreſſed by every poſſible demonſtration of joy. The latter was filled with aſtoniſhment and terror. The name of Maurice was mentioned, with execration, as an apoſtate from religion, a betrayer of the German liberty, and a contemner of the moſt ſacred and natural ties. Every thing that the rage or invention of the party could ſuggeſt, in order to blacken and render him odious; invectives, ſatires and lampoons, the furious declamations of their preachers, together with the rude wit of their authors, were all employed againſt him. While he, truſting to the arts which he had ſo long practiſed, as if his actions could have admitted of any ſerious juſtification, publiſhed a manifeſto, containing the ſame frivolous reaſons for his conduct, which he had formerly alledged in the meeting of his ſtates, and in his letter to the Landgrave".

" Sleid. 409, 410.

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The confederates make overtures of accommodation to the Emperor;

THE Elector, upon the first intelligence of Maurice's motions, proposed to return home with his troops for the defence of Saxony. But the deputies of the league, assembled at Ulm, prevailed on him, at that time, to remain with the army, and to prefer the success of the common cause before the security of his own dominions. At length the sufferings and complaints of his subjects increased so much, that he discovered the utmost impatience to set out, in order to rescue them from the oppression of Maurice, and from the cruelty of the Hungarians, who having been accustomed to that licentious and merciless species of war which was thought lawful against the Turks, committed, wherever they came, the wildest acts of rapine and violence. This desire of the Elector's was so natural and so warmly urged, that the deputies at Ulm, though fully sensible of the unhappy consequences of dividing their army, durst not refuse their consent, how unwilling soever to grant it. In this perplexity, they repaired to the camp of the confederates at Giengen on the Brenz, in order to consult their constituents. Nor were they less at a loss what to determine in this pressing emergence. But, after having considered seriously the open desertion of some of their allies; the scandalous lukewarmness of others who had hitherto contributed nothing towards the war; the intolerable load which had fallen, of consequence, upon such members as were most zealous for the cause, or most faithful to their engagements; the ill success of all their endeavours to obtain foreign aid; the unusual length of the campaign; the rigour of the season; together with the great number of soldiers, and even officers, who had, on that account, quitted the service; they concluded that nothing could save them, but either the bringing the contest to the immediate decision of a battle by attacking the

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Imperial army, or an accommodation of all their differences with Charles by a treaty. Such was the deſpondency and dejection which now oppreſſed the party, that of theſe two they choſe what was moſt feeble and unmanly, empowering a miniſter of the Elector of Brandenburg to propound overtures of peace in their name to the Emperor.

which he rejects.

No ſooner did Charles perceive this haughty confederacy, which had ſo lately threatened to drive him out of Germany, condeſcending to make the firſt advances towards an agreement, than concluding their ſpirit to be gone, or their union to be broken, he immediately aſſumed the tone of a conqueror; and as if they had been already at his mercy, would not hear of a negociation, but upon condition of the Elector of Saxony's conſenting previouſly to give up himſelf and his dominions abſolutely to his diſpoſal[a]. As nothing more intolerable or ignominious could have been preſcribed, even in the worſt ſituation of their affairs, it is no wonder this propoſition was rejected by a party, humbled and diſconcerted rather than ſubdued. But though they refuſed to ſubmit tamely to the Emperor's will, they wanted ſpirit to purſue the only plan which could have preſerved their independence; and forgetting that it was the union of their troops in one body which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and had more than once obliged the Imperialiſts to think of quitting the field; they inconſiderately abandoned that advantage, which, in ſpite of the diverſion in Saxony, would ſtill have kept the Emperor in awe; and yielding to the Elector's intreaties, conſented to his propoſal of dividing the army. Nine thouſand

The troops of the confederacy ſeparate.

[a] Hortenſius ap. Scard. ii. 485.

men

men were left in the dutchy of Wurtemberg, in order to protect that province, as well as the free cities of Upper Germany; a conſiderable body marched with the Elector towards Saxony; but the greater part returned with their reſpective leaders into their own countries, and were diſperſed there [o]. Book VIII. 1546.

THE moment the troops ſeparated, the confederacy ceaſed to be the object of terror; and the members of it, who while they compoſed part of a great body had felt but little anxiety about their own ſecurity, began to tremble when they reflected that they now ſtood expoſed ſingly to the whole weight of the Emperor's vengeance. Charles did not allow them leiſure to recover from their conſternation, or to form any new ſchemes of union. As ſoon as the confederates began to retire, he put his army in motion, and though it was now the depth of winter, he reſolved to keep the field, in order to make the moſt of that favourable juncture for which he had waited ſo long. Some ſmall towns in which the enemy had left garriſons immediately opened their gates. Norlingen, Rotenberg and Hall, Imperial cities, ſubmitted ſoon after. Though Charles could not prevent the Elector from levying, as he retreated, large contributions upon the archbiſhop of Mentz, the abbot of Fulda, and other eccleſiaſtics [p], this was more than balanced by the ſubmiſſion of Ulm, one of the chief cities of Suabia, highly diſtinguiſhed by its zeal for the Smalkaldic league. As ſoon as an example was ſet of deſerting the common cauſe, the reſt of the members became inſtantly impatient to follow it, and ſeemed afraid leſt others, by getting the ſtart of them in returning to their duty, ſhould,

Almoſt all the members of to ſubmit to the Emperor.

[o] Sleid. 411. [p] Thuan. 88.

Book VIII. 1546. ſhould, on that account, obtain more favourable terms. The Elector Palatine, a weak Prince, who, notwithſtanding his profeſſions of neutrality, had, very prepoſterouſly, ſent to the confederates four hundred horſe, a body ſo inconſiderable as to be ſcarce any addition to their ſtrength, but great enough to render him guilty in the eyes of the Emperor, made his acknowledgements in the moſt abject manner. The inhabitants of Augſburg, ſhaken by ſo many inſtances of apoſtacy, expelled the brave Schertel out of their city, and accepted ſuch conditions as the Emperor was pleaſed to grant them.

THE Duke of Wurtemberg, though among the firſt who had offered to ſubmit, was obliged to ſue for pardon on his knees, and even after this mortifying humiliation obtained it with
1547. difficulty[1]. Memmingen, and other free cities in the circle of Suabia, being now abandoned by all their former aſſociates, found it neceſſary to provide for their own ſafety by throwing themſelves on the Emperor's mercy. Straſburg and Franckfort on the Maine, cities far remote from the ſeat of danger, diſcovered no greater ſteddineſs than thoſe which lay more expoſed. Thus a confederacy, lately ſo powerful as to ſhake the Imperial throne, fell to pieces and was diſſolved in the ſpace of a few weeks; ſcarce any member of that formidable combination now remaining in arms, but the Elector and Landgrave, whom the Emperor, having from the beginning marked out as the victims of his vengeance, was at no pains to reconcile. Nor did he grant thoſe who ſubmitted to him a generous and unconditional pardon. Conſcious of his own ſuperiority, he treated them both with haughtineſs and rigour. All the Princes in perſon, and

The rigorous conditions impoſed by the Emperor.

[1] Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 589.

the

the cities, by their deputies, were compelled to implore mercy in the humble poſture of ſupplicants. As the Emperor laboured under great difficulties from the want of money, he impoſed heavy fines upon them, which he levied with moſt rapacious exactneſs. The Duke of Wurtemberg paid three hundred thouſand crowns; the city of Augſburg an hundred and fifty thouſand; Ulm an hundred thouſand; Frankfort eighty thouſand; Memmingen fifty thouſand; and the reſt in proportion to their abilities, or their different degrees of guilt. They were obliged, beſides, to renounce the league of Smalkalde; to furniſh aſſiſtance, if required, towards executing the Imperial ban againſt the Elector and Landgrave; to give up their artillery and warlike ſtores to the Emperor; to admit garriſons into their principal cities and places of ſtrength; and in this diſarmed and dependent ſituation, to expect the final award which the Emperor ſhould think proper to pronounce when the war came to an iſſue[1]. But, amidſt the great variety of articles dictated by Charles on this occaſion, he, in conformity to his original plan, took care that nothing relating to religion ſhould be inſerted; and to ſuch a degree were the confederates humbled or overawed, that, forgetting the zeal which had ſo long animated them, they were ſollicitous only about their ſafety, without venturing to inſiſt on a point, the mention of which they ſaw him avoiding with ſo much induſtry. The inhabitants of Memmingen alone made ſome feeble efforts to procure a promiſe of protection in the exerciſe of their religion, but were checked ſo ſeverely by the Emperor's miniſters, that they inſtantly fell from their demand.

[1] Sleid. 411, &c. Thuan. lib. iv. p. 125. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 606.

The

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THE Elector of Cologne, whom, notwithſtanding the ſentence of excommunication iſſued againſt him by the Pope, Charles had hitherto allowed to remain in poſſeſſion of the archiepiſcopal ſee, being now required by the Emperor to ſubmit to the cenſures of the church, this virtuous and diſintereſted prelate, unwilling to expoſe his ſubjects, on his account, to the miſeries of war, voluntarily reſigned that high dignity. With a moderation becoming his age and character, he choſe to enjoy truth together with the exerciſe of his religion in the retirement of a private life, rather than to diſturb ſociety by engaging in a doubtful and violent ſtruggle in order to retain his office *.

Jan. 25.

The Elector returns to Saxony, and recovers poſſeſſion of it.

MEANWHILE the Elector of Saxony reached the frontiers of his country. As Maurice could aſſemble no force equal to the army which accompanied him, he, in a ſhort time, not only recovered poſſeſſion of his own territories, but over-ran Miſnia, and ſtripped his rival of all that belonged to him except Dreſden and Leipſic, which being towns of ſome ſtrength could not be ſuddenly reduced. Maurice, obliged to quit the field, and to ſhut himſelf up in his capital, diſpatched courier after courier to the Emperor, repreſenting his dangerous ſituation, and ſolliciting him with the moſt earneſt importunity to march immediately to his relief. But Charles, buſy at that time in preſcribing terms to ſuch members of the league as were daily returning to their allegiance, thought it ſufficient to detach Albert Marquis of Brandenburg-Anſpach with three thouſand men to his aſſiſtance. Albert, though an enterprizing and active officer, allowed himſelf to be ſurprized by the Elector, who killed many of his troops, diſperſed the remainder, and took

* Sleid. 418. Thuan. lib. iv. 128.

him priſoner [t]. Maurice continued as much expoſed as formerly; and if his enemy had known how to improve the opportunity which preſented itſelf, his ruin muſt have been immediate and unavoidable. But the Elector, no leſs ſlow and dilatory when inveſted with the ſole command, than he had been formerly when joined in authority with a partner, never gave any proof of military activity but in this enterprize againſt Albert. Inſtead of marching directly towards Maurice, whom the defeat of his ally had greatly alarmed, he inconſiderately liſtened to overtures of accommodation, which his artful antagoniſt propoſed with no other intention than to amuſe him, and to ſlacken the vigour of his operations.

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SUCH, indeed, was the poſture of the Emperor's affairs that he could not march inſtantly to the relief of his ally. Soon after the ſeparation of the confederate army, he, in order to eaſe himſelf of the burden of maintaining a ſuperfluous number of troops, had diſmiſſed the count of Buren with his Flemings [u], imagining that the Spaniards and Germans, together with the papal forces, would be fully ſufficient to cruſh any degree of vigour that yet remained among the members of the league. But Paul, growing wiſe too late, began now to diſcern the imprudence of that meaſure, from which the more ſagacious Venetians had endeavoured in vain to diſſuade him. The rapid progreſs of the Imperial arms, and the eaſe with which they had broken a combination that appeared ſo firm and powerful, opened at length his eyes, made him forget at once all the

The Emperor prevented from attacking the Elector and Landgrave.

[t] Avila 99. 6. Mem. de Ribier. tom. i. 620.

[u] Avila 83. 6. Mem. de Ribier. tom. i. 592.

advantages

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advantages which he had expected from ſuch a compleat triumph over hereſy, and placed, in the ſtrongeſt light, his own impolitic conduct, in having contributed towards acquiring for Charles ſuch an immenſe increaſe of power, as would enable him, after oppreſſing the liberties of Germany, to give law with abſolute authority to all the ſtates of Italy. The moment he perceived his error, he endeavoured to correct it. Without giving the Emperor any warning of his intention, he ordered Farneſe, his grandſon, to return inſtantly to Italy with all the troops under his command, and at the ſame time recalled the licence which he had granted Charles, of appropriating, to his own uſe, a large ſhare of the church-lands in Spain. He was not deſtitute of pretences to juſtify this abrupt deſertion of his ally. The term of ſix months, during which the ſtipulations in their treaty were to continue in force, was now expired; the league, in oppoſition to which their alliance had been framed, ſeemed to be entirely diſſipated; Charles, in all his negociations with the Princes and cities which had ſubmitted to his will, had neither conſulted the Pope, nor had allotted him any part of the conqueſts which he had made, nor had communicated to him any ſhare in the vaſt contributions that he had raiſed. He had not even made any proviſion for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy, or the re-eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion, which were Paul's chief inducements to beſtow the treaſures of the church ſo liberally in carrying on the war. Theſe colours, how ſpecious ſoever, did not conceal from the Emperor that ſecret jealouſy which was the true motive of the Pope's conduct. But, as Paul's orders with regard to the march of his troops were no leſs peremptory than unexpected, it was impoſſible to prevent their retreat. Charles exclaimed loudly againſt his treachery, in abandoning him ſo unſeaſonably,

The Pope recalls his troops.

‡

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ably, while he was profecuting a war undertaken in compliance with his earneſt ſollicitations, and from which, if ſucceſsful, ſo much honour and advantage would redound to the church. To complaints he added threats and expoſtulations. But Paul remained inflexible; his troops continued their march towards the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and in an elaborate memorial, intended as an apology for his behaviour, he diſcovered new and more manifeſt ſymptoms of alienation from the Emperor, together with a deep rooted terror of his power[x]. Charles weakened by the withdrawing of ſo great a body from his army, which was already much diminiſhed by the number of garriſons that he had been obliged to throw into the towns which had capitulated, found it neceſſary to recruit his forces by new levies, before he could venture to march in perſon towards Saxony.

A conſpiracy to overturn the government of Genoa.

THE fame and ſplendor of his ſucceſs could not have failed of attracting ſuch multitudes of ſoldiers into his ſervice from all the extenſive territories now ſubject to his authority, as muſt have ſoon put him in a condition of taking the field againſt the Elector; but the ſudden and violent eruption of a conſpiracy at Genoa, as well as the great revolutions which that event, extremely myſterious in its firſt appearances, ſeemed to portend, obliged him to avoid entangling himſelf in new operations in Germany, before he had fully diſcovered its ſource and tendency. The form of government which had been eſtabliſhed in Genoa, at the time when Andrew Doria reſtored liberty to his country, though calculated to obliterate the memory of former diſſenſions,

[x] F. Paul. 208. Pallavic. par. ii. p. 5. Thuan. 126.

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and received at first with eager approbation, did not, after a trial of near twenty years, give universal satisfaction to these turbulent and factious republicans. As the entire administration of affairs was now lodged in a certain number of noble families, many, envying them that pre-eminence, wished for the restitution of a popular government, to which they had been accustomed; and though all reverenced the disinterested virtue of Doria, and admired his talents, not a few were jealous of that ascendant which he had acquired in all the councils of the commonwealth. His age, however, his moderation, and love of liberty, afforded ample security to his countrymen that he would not abuse his power, nor stain the close of his days by attempting to overturn that fabrick, which it had it been the labour and pride of his life to erect. But that authority and influence, which in his hands were innocent, they easily saw would prove destructive, if usurped by any citizen of greater ambition, or less virtue. A citizen of this dangerous character had actually formed such pretensions, and with some prospect of success. Giannetino Doria, whom his grand uncle Andrew destined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewise at being his successor in power. His temper haughty, insolent, and overbearing to such a degree as would scarce have been tolerated in one born to reign, was altogether insupportable in the citizen of a free state; and the more sagacious among the Genoese already feared and hated him as the enemy of those liberties for which they were indebted to his uncle. While Andrew himself, blinded by that violent and undiscerning affection which persons in advanced age often contract for the younger members of their family, set no bounds to the indulgence with which he

The object of the conspirators.

treated

treated him; ſeeming leſs ſollicitous to ſecure and perpetuate the freedom of the commonwealth, than to aggrandize that undeſerving kinſman. Book VIII. 1547.

But whatever ſuſpicion of Doria's deſigns, or whatever diſſatisfaction with the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the commonwealth, theſe circumſtances might have occaſioned, they would have ended, it is probable, in nothing more than murmurings and complaints, if John Lewis Fieſco count of Lavagna, obſerving this growing diſguſt, had not been encouraged by it to attempt one of the boldeſt actions recorded in hiſtory. That young nobleman, the richeſt and moſt illuſtrious ſubject in the republick, poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities which win upon the human heart, which command reſpect, or ſecure attachment. He was graceful and majeſtic in his perſon; magnificent to profuſion; of a genoroſity that prevented the wiſhes of his friends, and exceeded the expectations of ſtrangers; of an inſinuating addreſs, gentle manners and a flowing affability. But under the appearance of theſe virtues, which ſeemed to form him for enjoying and adorning civil life, he concealed all the diſpoſitions which mark men out for taking the lead in the moſt dangerous and dark conſpiracies; an inſatiable and reſtleſs ambition, a courage unacquainted with fear, and a mind that diſdained ſubordination. Such a temper could ill brook that ſtation of inferiority, wherein he was placed in the republick; and as he envied the power which the elder Doria had acquired, he was filled with indignation at the thoughts of its deſcending, like an hereditary poſſeſſion, to Giannetino. Theſe various paſſions, preying with violence on

Fieſco count of Lavagna the head of the conſpiracy.

Book VIII. 1547. his turbulent and aſpiring mind, determined him to attempt overturning that domination to which he could not ſubmit.

Intrigues and preparations of the conſpirators.

At firſt he thought of an alliance with Francis, and even propoſed it to the French ambaſſador at Rome, as the moſt effectual means of accompliſhing this; and after expelling Doria together with the Imperial faction by his aſſiſtance, he reſolved to put the publick once more under the protection of that Monarch, hoping in return for that ſervice to be entruſted with the principal ſhare in the adminiſtration of government. But having communicated his ſcheme to a few choſen confidents, from whom he kept nothing ſecret, Verrina, the chief of them, a man of deſperate fortune, capable alike of adviſing and of executing the moſt audacious deeds, remonſtrated with earneſtneſs againſt the folly of expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent danger, while he allowed another to reap all the fruits of his ſucceſs; and exhorted him warmly to aim himſelf at that pre-eminence in his country, to which he was deſtined by his illuſtrious birth, was called by the voice of his fellow citizens, and would be raiſed by the zeal of his friends. This diſcourſe opened ſuch vaſt proſpects to Fieſco, and ſo ſuitable to his genius, that abandoning his own plan, he eagerly adopted that of Verrina. The other perſons preſent, though ſenſible of the hazardous nature of the undertaking did not chuſe to condemn what their patron had ſo warmly approved. It was inſtantly reſolved, in this dark cabal, to aſſaſſinate the two Dorias as well as the principal perſons of their party, to overturn the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of government, and to place Fieſco on the ducal throne of Genoa. Time, however, and preparations were requiſite to ripen ſuch

a deſign

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a deſign for execution; and while he was employed in carrying on theſe, Fieſco made it his chief care to guard againſt every thing that might betray his ſecret, or create ſuſpicion. The diſguiſe he aſſumed was of all others the moſt impenetrable. He ſeemed to be abandoned entirely to pleaſure and diſſipation. A perpetual gaiety, diverſified by the purſuit of all the amuſements becoming his age and rank, engroſſed, in appearance, the whole of his time and thoughts. But amidſt this hurry of diſſipation, he proſecuted his plan with the moſt cool attention, neither retarding the deſign by a timid heſitation, nor precipitating the execution by an exceſs of impatience. He continued his correſpondence with the French ambaſſador at Rome, though without communicating to him his real intentions, that by his means he might ſecure the protection of the French arms, if hereafter he ſhould find it neceſſary to call them to his aid. He entered into a cloſe confederacy with Farneſe Duke of Parma, who being diſguſted with the Emperor for refuſing to grant him the inveſtiture of that dutchy, was eager to promote any meaſure that tended to diminiſh his influence in Italy, or to ruin a family ſo implicitely devoted to him as that of Doria. Being ſenſible that in a maritime ſtate, the acquiſition of naval power was what he ought chiefly to aim at, he purchaſed four galleys from the Pope, who probably was not unacquainted with the deſign which he had formed, and did not diſapprove of it. Under colour of fitting out one of theſe gallies to ſail on a cruiſe againſt the Turks, he not only aſſembled a good number of his own vaſſals, but engaged in his ſervice many bold adventurers, whom the truce between the Emperor and Solyman had deprived of their uſual occupation and ſubſiſtence.

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WHILE Fieſco was taking theſe important ſteps, he preſerved ſo admirably his uſual appearance of being devoted intirely to pleaſure and amuſement, and paid court with ſuch artful addreſs to the two Dorias, as impoſed not only on the generous and unſuſpicious mind of Andrew, but deceived Giannetino, who conſcious of his own criminal intentions, was more apt to diſtruſt the deſigns of others. So many inſtruments being now prepared, nothing remained but to ſtrike the blow. Various conſultations were held by Fieſco with his confidents, in order to ſettle the manner of doing it with the greateſt certainty and effect. At firſt, they propoſed to murder the Dorias and their chief adherents, during the celebration of high maſs in the principal church; but as Andrew was often abſent from theſe religious ſolemnities, on account of of his great age, that deſign was laid aſide. It was then concerted that Fieſco ſhould invite the uncle and nephew, with all their friends whom he had marked out as victims, to his houſe; where it would be eaſy to cut them off at once without danger or reſiſtance; but as Giannetino was obliged to leave the town on the day which they had choſen, it became neceſſary likewiſe to alter this plan. They at laſt determined to attempt by open force, what they found difficult to effect by ſtratagem, and fixed on the night between the ſecond and third of January, for the execution of their enterprize. The time was choſen with great propriety; for as the Doge of the former year was to quit his office, according to cuſtom, on the firſt of the month, and his ſucceſſor could not be elected ſooner than the fourth, the republick remained during that interval in a ſort of anarchy, and Fieſco might with leſs violence take poſſeſſion of the vacant dignity.

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The conſpirators aſſemble to execute their plan.

THE morning of that day Fieſco employed in viſiting his friends, paſſing ſome hours among them with a ſpirit as gay and unembarraſſed as at other times. Towards evening, he paid court to the Dorias with his uſual marks of reſpect, and ſurveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his ſituation, was happy to obſerve the perfect ſecurity in which they remained, without the leaſt foreſight or dread of that ſtorm which had been ſo long a gathering, and was now ready to burſt over their heads. From their palace he haſtened to his own, which ſtood by itſelf in the middle of a large court, ſurrounded by a high wall. The gates had been ſet open in the morning, and all perſons, without diſtinction, were allowed to enter, but ſtrong guards poſted within the court ſuffered no one to return. Verrina, meanwhile, and a few perſons truſted with the ſecret of the conſpiracy, after conducting Fieſco's vaſſals, as well as the crews of his gallies into the palace in ſmall bodies, with as little noiſe as poſſible, diſperſed themſelves through the city, and in the name of their patron, invited to an entertainment the principal citizens whom they knew to be diſguſted with the adminiſtration of the Dorias, and to have both inclination and courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vaſt number of perſons who now filled the palace, a few only knew for what purpoſe they were aſſembled, the reſt aſtoniſhed at finding inſtead of the preparations for a feaſt, a court crouded with armed men, and apartments filled with the inſtruments of war, gazed on each other with a mixture of impatience, curioſity and terror.

Fieſco's exhortations to them.

WHILE their minds were in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe and agitation, Fieſco appeared. With a look full of alacrity and con-

Book VIII. 1547. fidence, he addreſſed himſelf to the perſons of chief diſtinction, telling them, that they were not now called to partake of the pleaſure of an entertainment, but to join in a deed of valour, which would lead them to liberty and immortal renown. He ſet before their eyes the exorbitant as well as intolerable authority of the elder Doria, which the ambition of Giannetino, and the partiality of the Emperor to a family more devoted to him than to their country, was about to enlarge and to render perpetual. This unrighteous domination, continued he, you have it now in your power to ſubvert, and to eſtabliſh the freedom of your country on a firm baſis. The tyrants muſt be cut off. I have taken the moſt effectual meaſures for this purpoſe. My aſſociates are numerous. I can depend on allies and protectors if neceſſary. Happily the tyrants are as ſecure as I have been provident. Their inſolent contempt of their countrymen, has baniſhed the ſuſpicion and timidity which uſually render the guilty quick-ſighted to diſcern, as well as ſagacious to guard againſt the vengeance which they deſerve. They will now feel the blow, before they ſuſpect any hoſtile hand to be nigh. Let us then ſally forth, that we may deliver our country by one generous effort, almoſt unaccompanied with danger, and certain of ſucceſs. Theſe words, uttered with that irreſiſtible fervour which animates the mind when rouzed by great objects, made the deſired impreſſion on the audience. Fieſco's vaſſals, ready to execute whatever their maſter ſhould command, received his diſcourſe with a murmur of applauſe. To many whoſe fortunes were deſperate, the licence and confuſion of an inſurrection afforded an agreeable proſpect. Thoſe of higher rank and more virtuous ſentiments, durſt not diſcover the ſurprize or horror with which they were ſtruck at the propoſal of an enterprize ſo unexpected and atrocious; as each imagined the other to be in the ſecret of the conſpiracy,

conſpiracy, and ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by perſons who waited only a ſignal from their leader to perpetrate the greateſt crime. With one voice then all applauded, or feigned to applaud the undertaking.

His interview with his wife.

HAVING thus fixed and encouraged his aſſociates, before he gave them his laſt orders, he haſtened for a moment to the apartment of his wife, a lady of the noble houſe of Cibo, whom he loved with tender affection, and whoſe beauty and virtue rendered her worthy of his love. The noiſe of the armed men who crowded the court and palace, having long before this reached her ears, ſhe concluded ſome hazardous enterprize to be in hand, and ſhe trembled for her huſband. He found her in all the anguiſh of uncertainty and fear; and as it was now impoſſible to keep his deſign concealed, he informed her of what he had undertaken. The proſpect of a ſcene ſo full of horror as well as danger, compleated her agony; and foreboding immediately in her mind the fatal iſſue of it, ſhe endeavoured, by her tears, her entreaties, and her deſpair, to divert him from his purpoſe. Fieſco, after trying in vain to ſooth and to inſpire her with hope, broke from a ſituation into which an exceſs of tenderneſs had unwarily reduced him, though it could not ſhake his reſolution. "Farewel, he cried, as he quitted the apartment, you ſhall either never ſee me more, or you ſhall behold to-morrow every thing in Genoa ſubject to your power."

They attack the city.

As ſoon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper ſtation; ſome were appointed to aſſault and ſeize the different gates of the city; ſome to make themſelves maſters of the principal ſtreets or places of ſtrength: Fieſco reſerved for himſelf the attack of the harbour where Doria's gallies were

Book VIII. 1547. laid up, as the poſt of chief importance, and of greateſt danger. It was now midnight, and the citizens ſlept in the ſecurity of peace, when this band of conſpirators, numerous, deſperate, and well armed, ruſhed out to execute their plan. They ſurprized without reſiſtance ſome of the gates. They got poſſeſſion of others after a ſharp conflict with the ſoldiers on guard. Verrina, with the galley which had been fitted out againſt the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darſena or little harbour where Doria's fleet lay. All poſſibility of eſcape being by this precaution cut off, when Fieſco attempted to enter the gallies from the ſhore to which they were made faſt, as they were unrigged and diſarmed, having no crew on board but the ſlaves chained to the oar, they were in no condition to make reſiſtance. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noiſe and tumult, all the ſtreets reſounding with the cry of *Fieſco* and *liberty*. At that name, ſo popular and beloved, many of the lower rank took arms, and joined the conſpirators. The nobles and partizans of the ariſtocracy, aſtoniſhed or affrighted, ſhut the gates of their houſes, and thought of nothing but of ſecuring them from pillage. At laſt, the noiſe excited by this ſcene of violence and confuſion, reached the palace of Doria; Giannetino ſtarted immediately from his bed, and imagining that it was occaſioned by ſome mutiny among the ſailors, ruſhed out with a few attendants, and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas, through which he had to paſs, was already in the poſſeſſion of the conſpirators, who, the moment he entered, fell upon him with the utmoſt fury, and murdered him on the ſpot. The ſame muſt have been the fate of the elder Doria, if Jerome de Fieſco had executed his brother's plan, and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his palace; but he, from the ſordid conſideration of preventing its being plundered amidſt the confuſion, having forbid

forbid his followers to advance, Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death, as well as of his own danger; and mounting on horſeback, ſaved himſelf by flight. Meanwhile, a few ſenators had the courage to aſſemble in the palace of the republick[y]. At firſt, ſome of the moſt daring among them attempted to rally the ſcattered ſoldiers, and to attack a body of the conſpirators; but being repulſed with loſs, all agreed that nothing now remained, but to treat with the party which ſeemed to be irreſiſtible. Deputies were accordingly ſent to learn of Fieſco what were the conceſſions with which he would be ſatisfied, or rather to ſubmit to whatever terms he ſhould pleaſe to preſcribe.

Cauſe of their miſcarriage.

But by this time Fieſco, with whom they were empowered to negociate, was no more. Juſt as he was going to leave the harbour, where every thing had ſucceeded to his wiſh, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard ſome extraordinary uproar on board the Admiral galley. Alarmed at the noiſe, and fearing that the ſlaves might break their chains, and overpower his aſſociates, he ran thither; but the plank which reached from the ſhore to the veſſel happening to overturn, he fell into the ſea, whilſt he hurried forward too precipitately. Being loaded with heavy armour, he ſunk to the bottom, and periſhed in the very moment when he muſt have taken full poſſeſſion of every thing that his ambitious heart could deſire. Verrina was the firſt who diſcovered this fatal accident, and foreſeeing, at once, all its conſequences, concealed it with the utmoſt induſtry from every one but a few leaders of the conſpiracy. Nor was it difficult, amidſt the darkneſs and confuſion of the night, to have kept it ſecret, until a treaty with the ſenators ſhould have put the

[y] Il palazza della Signoria.

BOOK VIII. 1547. city in the power of the conſpirators. All their hopes of this were diſconcerted by the imprudence of Jerome Fieſco, who, when the deputies of the ſenate enquired for his brother, the count of Lavagna, that they might make their propoſals to him, replied with a childiſh vanity, "I am now the only perſon to whom that title belongs, and with me you muſt treat." Theſe words diſcovered both to his friends and enemies what had happened, and made the impreſſion which might have been expected upon both. The deputies, encouraged by this event, the only one which could occaſion ſuch a ſudden revolution as might turn to their advantage, aſſumed inſtantly, with admirable preſence of mind, a new tone, ſuitable to the change in their circumſtances, and made high demands. While they endeavoured to gain time by protracting the negociation, the reſt of the ſenators were buſy in aſſembling their partizans, and forming a body capable of defending the palace of the republick. On the other hand, the conſpirators aſtoniſhed at the death of a man whom they adored and truſted, and placing no confidence in Jerome, a giddy youth, felt their courage die away, and their arms fall from their hands. That profound and amazing ſecrecy with which the conſpiracy had been concerted, and which had contributed hitherto ſo much to its ſucceſs, proved now the chief cauſe of its miſcarriage. The leader was gone, the greater part of thoſe who acted under him, knew not his confidents, and were ſtrangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no perſon among them whoſe authority or abilities entitled him to aſſume Fieſco's place, or to finiſh his plan; after having loſt the ſpirit which animated it, life and activity deſerted the whole body. Many of the conſpirators withdrew to their houſes, hoping that amidſt the darkneſs of the night they

they had paſſed unobſerved, and might remain unknown. Others ſought for ſafety by a timely retreat; and before break of day, all of them fled with precipitation from a city, which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as maſters.

Tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in Genoa.

NEXT morning every thing was quiet in Genoa; not an enemy was to be ſeen; few marks of the violence of the former night appeared, the conſpirators having conducted their enterprize with more noiſe than bloodſhed, and gained all their advantages by ſurprize, rather than by force of arms. Towards evening, Andrew Doria returned to the city, being met by all the inhabitants, who received him with acclamations of joy. Though the diſgrace as well as danger of the preceding night, were freſh in his mind, and the mangled body of his kinſman ſtill before his eyes, ſuch was his moderation and magnanimity, that the decree iſſued by the ſenate againſt the conſpirators, did not exceed that juſt meaſure of ſeverity which was requiſite for the ſupport of government, and was dictated neither by the violence of reſentment, nor the rancour of revenge[z].*

The Emperor alarmed at this conſpiracy.

AFTER taking the neceſſary precautions for preventing the flame, which was now ſo happily extinguiſhed, from breaking out anew, the firſt care of the ſenate was to ſend an ambaſſador

[z] Thuan. 93. Sigonii vita Andreæ Doria, 1196. La Conjuration du Comte de Fieſque par Cardin. de Retz. Adriani Iſtoria, lib. vi. 369. Folietæ Conjuratio Jo. Lud. Fieſci ap. Græv. Theſ. Ital. i. 883.

* It is remarkable, that Cardinal de Retz compoſed, at the age of eighteen, a hiſtory of this conſpiracy, containing ſuch a diſcovery of his admiration of Fieſco and his enterprize, that it is not ſurprizing that a miniſter, ſo jealous and diſcerning as Richlieu, ſhould be led by the peruſal of it to predict the turbulent and dangerous ſpirit of that young Eccleſiaſtick. Mem. de Retz, tom. i. p. 13.

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to the Emperor, to give him a particular detail of what had happened, and to beg his aſſiſtance towards the reduction of Montobbio, a ſtrong fort on the hereditary eſtate of the Fieſci, in which Jerome had ſhut himſelf up. Charles was no leſs alarmed than aſtoniſhed at an event ſo ſtrange and unexpected. He could not believe that Fieſco, how bold or adventurous ſoever, durſt have attempted ſuch an enterprize, but on foreign ſuggeſtion, and from the hope of foreign aid. Being informed that the Duke of Parma was well acquainted with the plan of the conſpirators, he immediately ſuppoſed that the Pope could not be ignorant of a meaſure, which his ſon had countenanced. Proceeding from this to a farther conjecture, which Paul's cautious maxims of policy in other inſtances, rendered extremely probable, he concluded that the French King muſt have known and approved of the deſign; and he began to apprehend that this ſpark might again kindle the flame of war which had raged ſo long in Italy. As he had drained his Italian territories of troops on account of the German war, he was altogether unprovided for reſiſting any hoſtile attack in that country; and on the firſt appearance of danger, he muſt have detached thither the greateſt part of his forces for its defence. In this ſituation of affairs, it would have been altogether imprudent in the Emperor to have advanced in perſon againſt the Elector, until he ſhould learn with ſome degree of certainty whether ſuch a ſcene were not about to open in Italy, as might put it out of his power to keep the field with an army ſufficient to oppoſe him.

Suſpends his operations in Germany.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK IX.

THE Emperor's dread of the hoſtile intentions of the Pope and French King did not proceed from any imaginary or ill-grounded ſuſpicion. Paul had already given the ſtrongeſt proofs both of his jealouſy and enmity. Charles could not hope, that Francis, after a rivalſhip of ſo long continuance, would behold the great advantages which he had gained over the confederate Proteſtants, without feeling his ancient emulation revive. He was not deceived in this conjecture. Francis had obſerved the rapid progreſs of his arms with deep concern, and though prevented hitherto, by circumſtances which have been mentioned, from interpoſing in order to check them, he was now convinced that, if he did not make ſome extraordinary and timely

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Francis jealous of the Emperor's power and ſucceſs.

Book IX. 1547. timely effort, Charles muſt acquire ſuch a degree of power as would enable him to give law to the reſt of Europe. This apprehenſion, which did not take its riſe from the envy of rivalſhip alone, but was entertained by the wiſeſt politicians of the age, ſuggeſted various expedients which might ſerve to retard the courſe of the Emperor's victories, and to form by degrees ſuch a combination againſt him as might put a ſtop to his dangerous career.

Negociates with the Proteſtants; WITH this view, Francis inſtructed his emiſſaries in Germany to employ all their addreſs in order to revive the courage of the confederates, and to prevent them from ſubmitting to the Emperor. He made liberal offers of his aſſiſtance, and entering into a cloſe correſpondence with the Elector and Landgrave, whom he knew to be the moſt zealous as well as the moſt powerful of the whole body, he uſed every argument, and propoſed every advantage which could either confirm their dread of the Emperor's deſigns, or determine them not to imitate the inconſiderate credulity of their aſſociates in giving up their religion and liberties to his diſpoſal. While he took this ſtep towards continuing the civil war which raged in Germany, he endeavoured, likewiſe, to ſtir up foreign enemies againſt the Emperor. He ſollicited with Solyman; Solyman to ſeize this favourable opportunity of invading Hungary, which had been drained of all the troops neceſſary for its defence, in order to form the army againſt the confederates of Smalkalde. He exhorted the Pope to repair, by a vigorous and ſeaſonable effort, the error of which he had been guilty in contributing to raiſe the Emperor to ſuch a formidable height of power. Finding Paul, both from the conſciouſneſs of his own miſtake, and his dread of its conſequences, abundantly diſpoſed with the Pope and Venetians. to liſten to his exhortations, he availed himſelf of this favour-

able

able diſpoſition which the Pontiff began to diſcover, as an argument to gain the Venetians. He endeavoured to convince them that nothing could ſave Italy, and even Europe from oppreſſion and ſervitude, but their joining the Pope and him in giving the firſt beginning to a general confederacy in order to humble that ambitious potentate, whom they had all equal reaſon to dread. Book IX. 1547.

With the Kings of Denmark and England.

HAVING ſet on foot theſe negociations in the ſouthern courts, he turned his attention next towards thoſe in the north of Europe. As the King of Denmark had particular reaſons to be offended with the Emperor, Francis imagined that he would not be backward to approve of the league which he had projected; and leſt conſiderations of caution or prudence ſhould reſtrain him from joining in it, he attempted to overcome theſe, by offering him the young Queen of Scots in marriage to his ſon [a]. As the miniſters who governed England in the name of Edward VI, had openly declared themſelves converts to the opinions of the Reformers, as ſoon as it became ſafe upon Henry's death to lay aſide that diſguiſe which his unforgiving bigotry had forced them to aſſume, Francis flattered himſelf that their zeal would not allow them to remain inactive ſpectators of the overthrow and deſtruction of thoſe who profeſſed the ſame faith with themſelves; and he hoped that notwithſtanding the ſtruggles of faction incident to a minority, and the proſpect of an approaching rupture with the Scots, he might prevail on them likewiſe to take part in the common cauſe [b].

WHILE Francis employed ſuch variety of expedients, and exerted himſelf with ſuch extraordinary activity, to rouze the

[a] Mem. de Ribier, i. 600, 606.

[b] Mem. de Ribier, i. 635.

Book IX. 1547. different ſtates of Europe againſt his rival, he did not neglect what depended on himſelf alone. He levied troops in all parts of his dominions; he collected military ſtores; he contracted with the Swiſs cantons for a conſiderable body of men; he put his finances in admirable order; he remitted conſiderable ſums to the Elector and Landgrave; and took all the other ſteps neceſſary towards commencing hoſtilities, on the ſhorteſt warning, and with proper vigour [c].

The Emperor greatly alarmed.

OPERATIONS ſo complicated, and which required the putting ſo many inſtruments in motion, did not eſcape the Emperor's obſervation. He was ſoon informed of Francis's intrigues in the ſeveral courts, as well as of his domeſtic preparations; and ſenſible how fatal an interruption a foreign war would prove to his deſigns in Germany, he trembled at the proſpect of that event. The danger, however, appeared to him as unavoidable as it was great. He knew the inſatiable and well-directed ambition of Solyman, and that he always choſe the ſeaſon for beginning his military enterprizes with prudence equal to the valour with which he conducted them. The Pope, as he had good reaſon to believe, wanted not pretexts to juſtify a rupture, nor inclination to begin hoſtilities. He had already made ſome diſcovery of his ſentiments, by expreſſing a joy altogether unbecoming the head of the church, upon receiving an account of the advantage which the Elector of Saxony had gained over Albert of Brandenburg; and as he was now ſecure of finding in the French King, an ally of ſufficient power to ſupport him, he was at no pains to conceal the violence and extent of his enmity [d]. The Venetians, Charles was well aſſured, had long obſerved the growth of his power with jealouſy, which added to the ſollicitations and

[c] Mem. de Rib. i. 595.

[d] Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 637.

promiſes

promiſes of France, might at laſt quicken their ſlow counſels, and overcome their natural caution. The Danes and Engliſh, it was evident, had both peculiar reaſon to be diſguſted, as well as ſtrong motives to act againſt him. But above all, he dreaded the active emulation of Francis himſelf, whom he conſidered as the ſoul and mover of any confederacy that could be formed againſt him; and as that Monarch had afforded protection to Verrina, who ſailed directly to Marſeilles upon the miſcarriage of Fieſco's conſpiracy, Charles expected every moment the commencement of thoſe hoſtile operations in Italy, of which he conceived the inſurrection in Genoa to have been only the prelude. Book IX. 1547.

Entertains hope from the declining ſtate of Francis's health.

BUT while he remained in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe and ſollicitude, there was one circumſtance which afforded him ſome proſpect of eſcaping the danger. The French King's health began to decline. A diſeaſe, the effect of his intemperance and inconſiderate purſuit of pleaſure, preyed gradually on his conſtitution. The preparations for war, as well as the negociations in the different courts, began to languiſh, together with the Monarch, who gave ſpirit to both. The Genoeſe, during that interval, reduced Montobbio, took Jerome Fieſco priſoner, and putting him together with his chief adherents to death, extinguiſhed all remains of the conſpiracy. Several of the Imperial cities in Germany, deſpairing of timely aſſiſtance from France, ſubmitted to the Emperor. Even the Landgrave ſeemed diſpoſed to abandon the Elector, and to bring matters to a ſpeedy accommodation, on ſuch terms as he could obtain. In the mean time, Charles waited with impatience the iſſue of a diſtemper, which was to decide whether he muſt relinquiſh all other ſchemes, in order to prepare for reſiſting a combination of the greater part

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of Europe againſt him, or whether he might proceed to invade Saxony, without interruption or fear of danger.

Death of Francis, and reflections on his character and rivalſhip with Charles.

THE good fortune, ſo remarkably propitious to his family, that ſome hiſtorians have called it the *Star of the Houſe of Auſtria*, did not deſert him on this occaſion. Francis died at Rambouillet, on the laſt day of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign. During twenty-eight years of that time, an avowed rivalſhip ſubſiſted between him and the Emperor, which involved not only their own dominions, but the greater part of Europe in wars, proſecuted with more violent animoſity, and drawn out to a greater length than had been known in any former period. Many circumſtances contributed to both. Their animoſity was founded in oppoſition of intereſt, heightened by perſonal emulation, and exaſperated not only by mutual injuries, but by reciprocal inſults. At the ſame time, whatever advantage one ſeemed to poſſeſs towards gaining the aſcendant, was wonderfully ballanced by ſome favourable circumſtance, peculiar to the other. The Emperor's dominions were of great extent, the French King's lay more compact; Francis governed his kingdom with abſolute power; that of Charles was limited, but he ſupplied the want of authority by addreſs; the troops of the former were more impetuous and enterprizing; thoſe of the latter better diſciplined, and more patient of fatigue. The talents and abilities of the two Monarchs, were as different as the advantages which they poſſeſſed, and contributed no leſs to prolong the conteſt between them. Francis took his reſolutions ſuddenly, proſecuted them at firſt with warmth, and puſhed them into execution with a moſt adventrous courage; but being deſtitute of the perſeverance neceſſary to ſurmount difficulties, he often abandoned his

His deſigns, or relaxed the vigour of purſuit, from impatience, and ſometimes from levity. Charles deliberated long, and determined with coolneſs; but, having once fixed his plan, he adhered to it with inflexible obſtinacy, and neither danger nor diſcouragement could turn him aſide from the execution of it. The ſucceſs of their enterprizes was as different as their characters, and was uniformly influenced by them. Francis, by his impetuous activity, often diſconcerted the Emperor's beſt laid ſchemes; Charles, by a more calm but ſteady proſecution of his deſigns, checked the rapidity of his rival's career, and baffled or repulſed his moſt vigorous efforts. The former, at the opening of a war or of a campaign, broke in upon his enemy with the violence of a torrent, and carried all before him; the latter, waiting until he ſaw the force of his rival begin to abate, recovered in the end not only all that he had loſt, but made new acquiſitions. Few of the French Monarch's attempts towards conqueſt, whatever promiſing aſpect they might wear at firſt, were conducted to an happy iſſue; many of the Emperor's enterprizes, even after they appeared deſperate and impracticable, terminated in the moſt proſperous manner. Francis was dazzled with the ſplendour of an undertaking; Charles was allured by the proſpect of its turning to his advantage. The degree, however, of their comparative merit and reputation, has not been fixed either by a ſtrict ſcrutiny into their abilities for government, or by an impartial conſideration of the greatneſs and ſucceſs of their undertakings; and Francis is one of thoſe Monarchs who occupies a higher rank in the temple of fame, than either his talents or performances intitle him to hold. This pre-eminence he owed to many different circumſtances. The ſuperiority which Charles acquired by the victory of Pavia, and which from that period he preſerved through the remainder of his reign, was ſo manifeſt, that Fran-

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Book IX. 1547. cis's ſtruggle againſt his exorbitant and growing dominion was viewed by moſt of the other powers, not only with the partiality which naturally ariſes for thoſe who gallantly maintain an unequal conteſt, but with the favour due to one who was reſiſting a common enemy, and endeavouring to ſet bounds to a Monarch equally formidable to them all. The characters of Princes, too, eſpecially among their contemporaries, depend not only upon their talents for government, but upon their qualities as men. Francis, notwithſtanding the many errors conſpicuous in his foreign policy and domeſtic adminiſtration, was nevertheleſs humane, beneficent, generous. He poſſeſſed dignity without pride; affability free from meanneſs; and courteſy exempt from deceit. All who had acceſs to him, and no man of merit was ever denied that privilege, reſpected and loved him. Captivated with his perſonal qualities, his ſubjects forgot his defects as a Monarch, and admiring him as the moſt accompliſhed and amiable gentleman in his dominions, they never murmured at acts of male-adminiſtration, which in a Prince of leſs engaging diſpoſitions, would have been deemed unpardonable. This admiration, however, muſt have been temporary only, and would have died away with the courtiers who beſtowed it; the illuſion ariſing from his private virtues muſt have ceaſed, and poſterity would have judged of his public conduct with its uſual impartiality; but another circumſtance prevented this, and his name hath been tranſmitted to poſterity with increaſing reputation. Science and the arts had, at that time, made little progreſs in France. They were juſt beginning to advance beyond the limits of Italy, where they had revived, and which had hitherto been

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their only ſeat. Francis took them immediately under his protection, and vied with Leo himſelf, in the zeal and munificence with which he encouraged them. He invited learned men to his court, he converſed with them familiarly, he employed them in buſineſs, he raiſed them to offices of dignity, and honoured them with his confidence. That race of men, not more prone to complain when denied the reſpect to which they fancy themſelves entitled, than apt to be pleaſed when treated with the diſtinction which they conſider as their due, thought they could not exceed in gratitude to ſuch a benefactor, and ſtrained their invention, and employed all their ingenuity in panegyric. Succeeding authors, warmed with their deſcriptions of Francis's bounty, adopted their encomiums, and refined upon them. The appellation of Father of Letters beſtowed upon Francis, hath rendered his memory ſacred among hiſtorians, and they ſeem to have regarded it as a ſort of impiety to uncover his infirmities, or to point out his defects. Thus Francis, notwithſtanding his inferior abilities, and want of ſucceſs, hath more than equalled the fame of Charles. The virtues which he poſſeſſed as a man, have entitled him to greater admiration and praiſe, than have been beſtowed upon the extenſive genius, and fortunate arts of a more capable, but leſs amiable rival.

Effects of Francis's death.

By his death, a conſiderable change was made in the ſtate of Europe. Charles, grown old in the arts of government and command, had now to contend only with younger Monarchs, who could not be regarded as an equal match for him, who had ſtood the encounter with Henry VIII. and Francis I. and come off with honour in all theſe different conteſts. By this event, he was eaſed of all his diſquietude, and was happy to find that he might

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might begin with ſafety thoſe operations againſt the Elector of Saxony, which he had hitherto been obliged to ſuſpend. He knew the abilities of Henry II. who had juſt mounted the throne of France, to be greatly inferior to thoſe of his father, and foreſaw that he would be ſo much occupied for ſome time in diſplacing the late King's miniſters, whom he hated, and in gratifying the ambitious demands of his own favourites, that he had nothing to dread, either from his perſonal efforts, or from any confederacy which this unexperienced Prince could form.

Charles marches againſt the Elector of Saxony. April 13.

But as it was uncertain how long ſuch an interval of ſecurity might continue, Charles determined inſtantly to improve it; and as ſoon as he heard of Francis's demiſe, he began his march from Egra on the borders of Bohemia. But the departure of the Papal troops, together with the retreat of the Flemings, had ſo much diminiſhed his army, that ſixteen thouſand men were all he could aſſemble. With this inconſiderable body he ſet out on an expedition, the event of which was to decide what degree of authority he ſhould poſſeſs from that period in Germany: But as this little army conſiſted chiefly of the veteran Spaniſh and Italian bands, he did not, in truſting to them, commit much to the deciſion of chance, and even with ſo ſmall a force he had reaſon to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. The Elector, it is true, had levied an army greatly ſuperior in number; but neither the experience and diſcipline of his troops, nor the abilities of his officers, were to be compared with thoſe of the Emperor. The Elector, beſides, had already been guilty of an error, which deprived him of all the advantage which he might have derived from his ſuperiority in number, and was alone ſufficient to have occaſioned his ruin. Inſtead of keeping his forces united, he detached

one great body towards the frontiers of Bohemia, in order to facilitate his junction with the malecontents of that kingdom, and cantoned a conſiderable part of what remained in different places of Saxony, where he expected the Emperor would make the firſt impreſſion, vainly imagining that theſe open towns, with ſmall garriſons, might be rendered tenable againſt an enemy.

Progreſs of his arms.

THE Emperor entered the ſouthern frontier of Saxony, and attacked Altorf upon the Elſter. The folly of the meaſure which the Elector had taken was immediately ſeen, the troops poſted in that town ſurrendering without reſiſtance; and thoſe in all the other places between that and the Elbe, either imitated their example, or fled as the Imperialiſts approached. Charles, that they might not recover from the panic with which they ſeemed to be ſtruck, advanced without loſing a moment. The Elector, who had fixed his head-quarters at Meiſſen, continued in his wonted ſtate of fluctuation and uncertainty. He even became more undetermined, in proportion as the danger drew near and called for prompt and deciſive reſolutions. Sometimes he acted, as if he had reſolved to defend the banks of the Elbe, and to hazard a battle with the enemy, as ſoon as the detachments which he had called in were able to join him. At other times, he abandoned this as raſh and perilous, ſeeming to adopt the more prudent counſels of thoſe who adviſed him to endeavour at protracting the war, and for that end to retire under the fortifications of Wittemberg, where the Imperialiſts could not attack him without manifeſt diſadvantage, and where he might wait, in ſafety, for the ſuccours which he expected from Mecklenburgh, Pomerania and the Proteſtant cities on the Baltic. Without fixing upon either of theſe plans, he broke

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down the bridge at Meiſſen, and marched along the eaſt bank of the Elbe to Muhlberg. There he deliberated anew, and after much heſitation, adopted one of theſe middle ſchemes, which are always acceptable to feeble minds incapable of deciding. He left a detachment at Muhlberg to oppoſe the Imperialiſts, if they ſhould attempt to paſs at that place, and advancing a few miles with his main body, encamped there in expectation of the event, according to which he propoſed to regulate his ſubſequent motions.

Paſſes the Elbe.

CHARLES, meanwhile, puſhing forward inceſſantly, arrived the evening of the twenty third of April on the banks of the Elbe oppoſite to Muhlberg. The river, at that place, was three hundred paces in breadth, above four feet in depth, its current rapid, and the bank poſſeſſed by the Saxons was higher than that which he occupied. Undiſmayed, however, by all theſe obſtacles, he called together his general officers, and without aſking their opinions, communicated to them his intention of attempting next morning to force his paſſage over the river, and to attack the enemy wherever he could come up with them. They all expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at ſuch a bold reſolution, and even the Duke of Alva, though naturally daring and impetuous, and Maurice of Saxony, notwithſtanding his impatience to cruſh his rival the Elector, remonſtrated earneſtly againſt it. But the Emperor, confiding in his own judgment or good fortune, paid no regard to their arguments, and gave the orders neceſſary for executing his deſign.

EARLY in the morning, a body of Spaniſh and Italian foot marched towards the river, and began an inceſſant fire upon the

the enemy. The long heavy muſkets uſed in that age, did execution on the oppoſite bank, and many of the ſoldiers, hurried on by a martial ardor in order to get nearer the enemy, ruſhed into the ſtream, and advancing breaſt high, fired with a more certain aim, and with greater effect. Under cover of their fire, a bridge of boats was begun to be laid for the infantry; and a peaſant having undertaken to conduct the cavalry through the river by a ford with which he was well acquainted, they alſo were put in motion. The Saxons poſted in Muhlberg endeavoured to obſtruct theſe operations, by a briſk fire from a battery, which they had erected; but as a thick fog covered all the low grounds upon the river, they could not take aim with any certainty, and the Imperialiſts ſuffered very little; at the ſame time the Saxons being much galled by the Spaniards and Italians, they ſet on fire ſome boats which had been collected near the village, and prepared to retire. The Imperialiſts perceiving this, ten Spaniſh ſoldiers inſtantly ſtript themſelves, and holding their ſwords with their teeth, ſwam acroſs the river, put to flight ſuch of the Saxons as ventured to oppoſe them, ſaved from the flames as many boats as were ſufficient to complete their own bridge, and by this ſpirited and ſucceſsful action, encouraged their companions no leſs than they intimidated the enemy.

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By this time, the cavalry, each trooper having a foot ſoldier behind him, began to enter the river, the light horſe marching in the front, followed by the men at arms, whom the Emperor led in perſon, mounted on a Spaniſh horſe, dreſſed in a ſumptuous habit, and carrying a javelin in his hand. Such a numerous body ſtruggling through a great river, in which accord-

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ing to the directions of their guide they were obliged to make ſeveral turns, ſometimes treading on a firm bottom, ſometimes ſwimming, preſented to their companions, whom they left behind, a ſpectacle equally magnificent and intereſting [d]. Their courage, at laſt, ſurmounted every obſtacle, no man betraying any ſymptom of fear, when the Emperor ſhared in the danger no leſs than the meaneſt ſoldier. The moment that they reached the oppoſite ſide, Charles, without waiting the arrival of the reſt of the infantry, advanced towards the Saxons with the troops which had paſſed along with him, who fluſhed with their good fortune, and deſpiſing an enemy who had neglected to oppoſe them, when it might have been done with ſuch advantage, made no account of their ſuperior numbers, and marched on as to a certain victory.

Ill conduct of the Elector.

DURING all theſe operations, which neceſſarily conſumed much time, the Elector remained inactive in his camp; and from an infatuation which appears to be ſo amazing, that the beſt informed hiſtorians impute it to the treacherous arts of his generals, who deceived him by falſe intelligence, he would not believe that the Emperor had paſſed the river or could be ſo near at hand [e]. Being convinced, at laſt, of his fatal miſtake, by the concurring teſtimony of eye witneſſes, he gave orders for retreating towards Wittemberg. But a German army encumbered, as uſual, with baggage and artillery, could not be put ſuddenly in motion. They had ſcarce begun to march when light troops of the enemy came in view, and the Elector ſaw an engagement to be unavoidable.

[d] Avila, 115. a.

[e] Camerar. ap. Freher. iii. 493. Struv. corp. hiſt. Germ. 1047, 1049.

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As he was no leſs bold in action than irreſolute in council, he made the diſpoſition for battle with the greateſt preſence of mind, and in the moſt proper manner, taking advantage of a great foreſt to cover his wings, ſo as to prevent his being ſurrounded by the enemies cavalry which were far more numerous than his own. The Emperor, likewiſe, ranged his men in order as they came up, and riding along the ranks, exhorted them with few but efficacious words to do their duty. It was with a very different ſpirit that the two armies advanced to the charge. As the day, which had hitherto been dark and cloudy, happened to clear up at that moment, this accidental circumſtance made an impreſſion on the different parties correſponding to the tone of their minds; the Saxons, ſurprized and diſheartened, felt pain at being expoſed fully to the view of the enemy; the Imperialiſts, being now ſecure that the Proteſtant forces could not eſcape from them, rejoiced at the return of ſunſhine, as a certain preſage of victory. The ſhock of battle would not have been long or doubtful, if the perſonal courage which the Elector diſplayed, together with the activity which he exerted from the moment that the approach of the enemy rendered an engagement certain, and cut off all poſſibility of heſitation, had not revived in ſome degree the ſpirit of his troops. They repulſed the Hungarian light horſe who began the attack, and received with firmneſs the men at arms who next advanced to the charge; but as theſe were the flower of the Imperial army, were commanded by experienced officers, and fought under the Emperor's eye, the Saxons ſoon began to give way, and the light troops rallying at the ſame time and falling on their flanks, the flight became general. A ſmall body of choſen ſoldiers, among whom the Elector had fought in perſon, ſtill continued to

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The Elector defeated and taken priſoner.

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to defend themſelves, and endeavoured to ſave their maſter by retiring into the foreſt; but being ſurrounded on every ſide, the Elector, wounded in the face, exhauſted with fatigue, and perceiving all reſiſtance to be vain, ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner. He was conducted immediately towards the Emperor, whom he found juſt returned from the purſuit, ſtanding on the field of battle in the full exultation of ſucceſs, and receiving the congratulations of his officers, upon this compleat victory obtained by his valour and conduct. Even in ſuch an unfortunate and humbling ſituation, the Elector's behaviour was equally magnanimous and decent. Senſible of his condition, he approached his conqueror without any of the ſullenneſs or pride, which would have been improper in a captive; and conſcious of his own dignity, he deſcended to no mean ſubmiſſion, unbecoming the high ſtation which he held among the German Princes. "The fortune of war, ſaid he, has made me your priſoner, moſt gracious Emperor, and I hope to be treated"——Here, Charles harſhly interrupted him. "And am I then, at laſt, acknowledged to be Emperor; Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed me. You ſhall be treated as you deſerve." At theſe words, he turned from him abruptly, with an haughty air. To this cruel repulſe, the King of the Romans added reproaches in his own name, uſing expreſſions ſtill more ungenerous and inſulting. The Elector made no reply; but, with an unaltered countenance, which diſcovered neither aſtoniſhment nor dejection, accompanied the Spaniſh ſoldiers appointed to guard him [f].

His harſh reception by the Emperor.

[f] Sleid. hiſt. 426. Thuan. 136. Hortenſius de Bello German. ap. Scard. vol. ii. 498. Deſcript. pugnæ Mulberg. ibid. p. 509. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. xii. c. 13. p. 298.

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THIS deciſive victory coſt the Imperialiſts only fifty men. Twelve hundred of the Saxons were killed, chiefly in the purſuit, and a greater number taken priſoners. About four hundred kept in a body, and eſcaped to Wittemberg, together with the electoral Prince, who had likewiſe been wounded in the action. After reſting two days on the field of battle, partly to refreſh his army, and partly to receive the deputies of the adjacent towns, which were impatient to ſecure his protection by ſubmitting to his will, the Emperor began to move towards Wittemberg, that he might terminate the war at once, by the reduction of that city. The unfortunate Elector was carried along in a ſort of triumph, and expoſed every where, as a captive, to his own ſubjects; a ſpectacle extremely afflicting to them who both honoured and loved him; though the inſult was ſo far from ſubduing his firm ſpirit, that it did not even ruffle the wonted tranquillity and compoſure of his mind.

Charles's progreſs after his victory.

As Wittemberg, the reſidence, in that age, of the electoral branch of the Saxon family, was one of the ſtrongeſt cities in Germany, and would not be taken, if properly defended, without great difficulty, the Emperor marched thither with the utmoſt diſpatch, hoping that while the conſternation occaſioned by his victory was ſtill recent, the inhabitants might imitate the example of their countrymen, and ſubmit to his power, as ſoon as he appeared before their walls. But Sybilla of Cleves the Elector's wife, a woman no leſs diſtinguiſhed by her abilities than her virtue, inſtead of abandoning herſelf to tears and lamentation upon her huſband's misfortune, endeavoured, by her example as well as exhortations, to animate the citizens; and ſhe inſpired

Inveſts Wittemberg.

Book IX. 1547. inſpired them with ſuch reſolution, that, when ſummoned to ſurrender, they returned a vigorous anſwer, warning the Emperor to behave towards their ſovereign with the reſpect due to his rank, as they were determined to treat Albert of Brandenburg, who was ſtill a priſoner, preciſely in the ſame manner that he treated him. The ſpirit of the inhabitants no leſs than the ſtrength of the city ſeemed now to render a ſiege in form neceſſary. After ſuch a ſignal victory it would have been diſgraceful not to have undertaken it, though at the ſame time the Emperor was deſtitute of every thing requiſite for carrying it on. But Maurice removed all difficulties, by engaging to furniſh proviſions, artillery, ammunition, pioneers, and whatever elſe ſhould be needed. Truſting to this, Charles gave orders to open the trenches before the town. It quickly appeared, that Maurice's eagerneſs to reduce the capital of thoſe dominions, which he expected as his reward for taking arms againſt his kinſman, and deſerting the Proteſtant cauſe, had led him to promiſe what exceeded his power to perform. A battering train was, indeed, carried ſafely down the Elbe from Dreſden to Wittemberg; but as Maurice had not ſufficient force to preſerve a ſecure communication between his territories, and the camp of the beſiegers, Count Mansfeldt, who commanded a body of electoral troops, deſtroyed a convoy of proviſions and military ſtores, and diſperſed a band of pioneers deſtined for the ſervice of the Imperialiſts. This put a ſtop to the progreſs of the ſiege, and convinced the Emperor that as he could not rely on Maurice's promiſes, recourſe ought to be had to ſome more expeditious as well as more certain method of getting poſſeſſion of the town.

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The Emperor's ungenerous treatment of the Elector.

THE unfortunate Elector was in his hands, and he was ungenerous and hard-hearted enough to take advantage of this, in order to make an experiment whether he might not bring about his deſign, by working upon the tenderneſs of a wife for her huſband, or upon the piety of children towards their parent. With this view, he ſummoned Sybilla a ſecond time to open the gates, letting her know that if ſhe again refuſed to comply, the Elector ſhould anſwer with his head for her obſtinacy. To convince her that this was not an empty threat, he brought his priſoner to an immediate trial. The proceedings againſt him were as irregular, as the ſtratagem was barbarous. Inſtead of conſulting the ſtates of the Empire, or remitting the cauſe to any court, which according to the German conſtitution might have legally taken cognizance of the Elector's crime, he ſubjected the greateſt Prince in the Empire to the juriſdiction of a court-martial compoſed of Spaniſh and Italian officers, and in which the unrelenting Duke of Alva, a fit inſtrument for any act of violence, preſided. This ſtrange tribunal founded its charge upon the ban of the Empire which had been iſſued againſt the priſoner, a ſentence pronounced by the ſole authority of the Emperor, and deſtitute of every legal formality which could render it valid; but preſuming him to be thereby manifeſtly convicted of treaſon and rebellion, the court-martial condemned him to ſuffer death by being beheaded. This decree was intimated to the Elector while amuſing himſelf in playing at Cheſs with Erneſt of Brunſwick his fellow-priſoner. He pauſed for a moment, though without diſcovering any ſymptom either of ſurprize or terror; and after taking notice of the irregularity as well as injuſtice of the Emperor's proceedings: "It is eaſy, continued he, to comprehend his ſcheme. I muſt die, becauſe

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The Elector's magnanimity.

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Wittemberg will not ſurrender; and I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure, if, by that ſacrifice, I can preſerve the dignity of my houſe, and tranſmit to my poſterity the inheritance which belongs to them. Would to God, that this ſentence may not affect my wife and children more than it intimidates me! and that they, for the ſake of adding a few days to a life already too long, may not renounce honours and territories which they were born to poſſeſs[g]." He then turned to his antagoniſt, whom he challenged to continue the game. He played with his uſual attention and ingenuity, and having beat Erneſt, expreſſed all the ſatisfaction which is commonly felt on gaining ſuch victories. After this he withdrew to his own apartment, that he might employ the reſt of his time in ſuch religious exerciſes as were proper in his ſituation[h].

The diſtreſs of his family.

It was not with the ſame indifference, or compoſure, that the account of the Elector's danger was received in Wittemberg. Sybilla, who had ſupported with ſuch undaunted fortitude her huſband's misfortunes, while ſhe imagined that they could reach no farther than to diminiſh his power or territories, felt all her reſolution fail the moment his life was threatened. Sollicitous to ſave that, ſhe deſpiſed every other conſideration; and was willing to make any ſacrifice, in order to appeaſe an incenſed conqueror. At the ſame time, the Duke of Cleves, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, to none of whom Charles had communicated the true motives of his violent proceedings againſt the Elector, interceded warmly with him to ſpare his life. The firſt was prompted to do ſo merely by compaſſion for his ſiſter,

[g] Thuan. i. 142. [h] Struvii corpus 1059.

and

and regard for his brother-in-law. The two other dreaded the universal reproach that they would incur, if, after having boasted so often of the ample security which the Emperor had promised them with respect to their religion, the first effect of their union with him should be the public execution of a Prince, who was justly held in reverence as the most zealous protector of the Protestant cause. Maurice, in particular, foresaw that he must become the object of detestation to the Saxons, and could never hope to govern them with tranquillity, if he were considered by them as accessary to the death of his nearest kinsman, in order that he might obtain possession of his dominions. BOOK IX. 1547.

His treaty with Charles, by which he surrenders the Electorate;

WHILE they, from such various motives, sollicited Charles, with the most earnest importunity, not to execute the sentence; Sybilla, and the rest of the Elector's family, conjured him by letters as well as messengers to scruple at no concessions that would extricate him out of the present danger, and deliver them from their fears and anguish on his account. The Emperor, perceiving that the expedient which he had tried began to produce the effect he intended, fell by degrees from his former rigour, and allowed himself to soften into promises of clemency and forgiveness, if the Elector would shew himself worthy of his favour by submitting to reasonable terms. The Elector, on whom the consideration of what he might suffer himself had made no impression, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved, and could not resist the intreaties of his family. In compliance with their repeated sollicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation, which he would otherwise have rejected with disdain. The chief of them were, that he should resign the Electoral dignity, as well for himself, as for his posterity, into the Emperor's May 19.

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hands, to be diſpoſed of entirely at his pleaſure; that he ſhould inſtantly put the Imperial troops in poſſeſſion of the cities of Wittemberg and Gotha; that he ſhould ſet Albert of Brandenburg at liberty without ranſom; that he ſhould ſubmit to the decrees of the Imperial chamber, and acquieſce in whatever reformation the Emperor ſhould make in the conſtitution of that court; that he ſhould renounce all leagues againſt the Emperor or King of the Romans, and enter into no alliance for the future, in which they were not comprehended. In return for theſe important conceſſions, the Emperor not only promiſed to ſpare his life, but to ſettle on him and his poſterity the city of Gotha and its territories, together with an annual penſion of fifty thouſand florins, payable out of the revenues of the electorate; and likewiſe to grant him a ſum in ready money to be applied towards the diſcharge of his debts. Even theſe articles of grace were clogged with the mortifying condition of his remaining the Emperor's priſoner during the reſt of his life[1]. To the whole, Charles had ſubjoined, that he ſhould ſubmit to the decrees of the Pope and council with regard to the controverted points in religion; but the Elector, though he had been perſuaded to ſacrifice all the objects which men commonly hold to be the deareſt and moſt valuable, was inflexible with regard to this point; and neither threats nor intreaties could prevail to make him renounce what he deemed to be truth, or perſuade him to act in oppoſition to the dictates of his conſcience.

and remains a priſoner.

Maurice put in poſſeſſion of the Electoral dominions.

As ſoon as the Saxon garriſon marched out of Wittemberg, the Emperor fulfilled his engagements to Maurice; and in reward for his merit in having deſerted the Proteſtant cauſe, and

[1] Sleid. 427. Thuan. i. 142. Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11, 332.

having

having contributed with ſuccefs towards the diſſolution of the Smalkaldic league, he gave him poſſeſſion of that city, together with all the other towns in the electorate. It was not without reluctance, however, that he made ſuch a ſacrifice; the extraordinary ſucceſs of his arms had begun to operate, in its uſual manner, upon his ambitious mind, ſuggeſting new and vaſt projects for the aggrandizement of his family, towards the accompliſhment of which the retaining of Saxony would have been of the utmoſt conſequence. But as this ſcheme was not then ripe for execution, he durſt not yet venture to diſcloſe it; nor would it have been either ſafe or prudent to have offended Maurice, at that juncture, by ſuch a manifeſt violation of all the promiſes, which had ſeduced him to abandon his natural allies.

Negociations with the Landgrave.

THE Landgrave, Maurice's father-in-law, was ſtill in arms; and though now left alone to maintain the Proteſtant cauſe, was neither a feeble nor contemptible enemy. His dominions were of conſiderable extent; his ſubjects animated with zeal for the Reformation; and if he could have held the Imperialiſts at bay for a ſhort time, he had much to hope from a party whoſe ſtrength was ſtill unbroken, whoſe union as well as vigour might return, and which had reaſon to depend, with certainty, on being effectually ſupported by the King of France. The Landgrave thought not of any thing ſo bold or adventerous; but being ſeized with the ſame conſternation which had taken poſſeſſion of his aſſociates, he was intent, only, how to procure favourable terms from the Emperor, whom he viewed as a conqueror, to whoſe will there was a neceſſity of ſubmitting. Maurice encouraged this tame and pacific ſpirit, by magnifying, on the one hand, the Emperor's power; by boaſting, on the other, of his

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his own intereſt with his victorious ally; and by repreſenting the advantageous conditions which he could not fail of obtaining by his interceſſion for a friend, whom he was ſo ſollicitous to ſave. Sometimes, the Landgrave was induced to place ſuch unbounded confidence in his promiſes, that he was impatient to bring matters to a final accommodation. On other occaſions, the Emperor's exorbitant ambition, reſtrained neither by the ſcruples of decency, nor the maxims of juſtice, together with the recent and ſhocking proof which he had given of this in the cruel and oppreſſive treatment of the Elector of Saxony, came ſo full into his thoughts, and made ſuch a lively impreſſion on them, that he broke off abruptly the negociations which he had begun; ſeeming to be convinced that it was more prudent to depend for ſafety on his own arms, than to confide in Charles's generoſity. But this bold reſolution, which deſpair had ſuggeſted to an impatient ſpirit, fretted by diſappointments, was not of long continuance. Upon a more deliberate ſurvey of the enemies power, and his own weakneſs, his doubts and fears returned upon him, and together with them the ſpirit of negociating, and the deſire of accommodation.

Negotiations with the Landgrave.

The conditions preſcribed by the Emperor.

MAURICE, and the Elector of Brandenburg, acted as mediators between him and the Emperor; and after all that the former had vaunted of his influence, the conditions preſcribed to the Landgrave were extremely rigorous. The articles with regard to his renouncing the league of Smalkalde, acknowledging the Emperor's authority, and ſubmitting to the decrees of the Imperial chamber, were the ſame which had been impoſed on the Elector of Saxony. Beſides theſe, he was required to ſurrender his perſon and territories to the Emperor; to implore for pardon on his knees; to pay an hundred and fifty thouſand crowns towards

defraying the expences of the war; to demoliſh the fortifications of all the towns in his dominions except one; to oblige the garriſon which he placed in it to take an oath of fidelity to the Emperor; to allow a free paſſage through his territories to the Imperial troops as often as it ſhall be demanded; to deliver up all his artillery and ammunition to the Emperor; to ſet at liberty, without ranſom, Henry of Brunſwick, together with the other priſoners he had taken during the war; and neither to take arms himſelf, for the future, nor to permit any of his ſubjects to ſerve againſt the Emperor or his allies [k]. Book IX. 1547.

THE Landgrave ratified theſe articles, though with the utmoſt reluctance, as they contained no ſtipulation with regard to the manner in which he was to be treated, and left him entirely at the Emperor's mercy. Neceſſity, however, compelled him to give his aſſent. Charles, who had aſſumed the haughty and imperious tone of a conqueror, ever ſince the reduction of Saxony, inſiſted on an unconditional ſubmiſſion, and would permit nothing to be added to the terms which he had preſcribed, that could in any degree limit the fulneſs of his power, or reſtrain him from behaving as he ſaw meet towards a Prince whom he regarded as abſolutely at his diſpoſal. But though he would not vouchſafe to negociate with the Landgrave, on ſuch a footing of equality, as to ſuffer any article to be inſerted among thoſe which he had dictated to him, that could be conſidered as a formal ſtipulation for the ſecurity and freedom of his perſon; he, or his miniſters in his name, gave the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice ſuch full ſatisfaction with regard to this point, that they aſſured the Landgrave that Charles would behave to- To which he ſubmits.

[k] Sleid. 430. Thuan. l. iv. 146.

Book IX. 1547. to him in the ſame way that he had done to the Duke of Wurtemberg, and would allow him, as ſoon as he had made his ſubmiſſion, to return to his own territories. Upon finding the Landgrave to be ſtill poſſeſſed with his former ſuſpicions of the Emperor's intentions, and unwilling to truſt verbal or ambiguous declarations, in a matter of ſuch eſſential concern as his own liberty, they ſent him a bond ſigned by them both, containing the moſt ſolemn obligations, that if any violence whatſoever were offered to his perſon, during his interview with the Emperor, they would inſtantly ſurrender themſelves to his ſons, and remain in their hands to be treated by them in the ſame manner as the Emperor ſhould treat him [1].

He repairs to the Imperial court.

THIS, together with the indiſpenſable obligation of performing what was contained in the articles of which he had accepted, removed his doubts and ſcruples, or made it neceſſary to get over them. He repaired, for that purpoſe, to the Imperial camp at Hall in Saxony, where a circumſtance occurred which revived his ſuſpicions and increaſed his fears. Juſt as he was about to enter the chamber of preſence, in order to make his public ſubmiſſion to the Emperor, a copy of the articles which he had approved of was put into his hands, in order that he might ratify them anew. Upon peruſing them, he perceived that the Imperial miniſters had added two new articles; one importing, that if any diſpute ſhould ariſe concerning the meaning of the former conditions, the Emperor ſhould have the right of putting what interpretation upon them he thought moſt reaſonable; the other, that the Landgrave was bound to ſubmit implicitly to the deciſions of the council of Trent. This unworthy artifice, calculated

[1] Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11, 336.

to ſurprize him into an approbation of articles, to which he had not the moſt diſtant idea of aſſenting, by preſenting them to him at a time when his mind was engroſſed and diſqueited with the thoughts of that humbling ceremony which he had to perform, filled the Landgrave with indignation, and made him fly out into all thoſe violent expreſſions of rage to which his temper was prone. With ſome difficulty, the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice prevailed at length on the Emperor's miniſters to drop the former article as unjuſt, and to explain the latter in ſuch a manner, that he could agree to it, without openly renouncing the Proteſtant religion. Book IX. 1547.

THIS obſtacle being ſurmounted, the Landgrave was impatient to finiſh a ceremony which, how mortifying ſoever, had been declared neceſſary towards his obtaining pardon. The Emperor was ſeated on a magnificent throne, with all the enſigns of his dignity, ſurrounded by a numerous train of the Princes of the Empire, among whom was Henry of Brunſwick, lately the Landgrave's priſoner, and now, by a ſudden reverſe of fortune, a ſpectator of his humiliation. The Landgrave was introduced with great ſolemnity, and advancing towards the throne, fell upon his knees. His chancellor, who walked behind him, immediately read, by his maſter's command, a paper which contained an humble confeſſion of the crime whereof he had been guilty; an acknowledgment that he had merited on that account the moſt ſevere puniſhment; an abſolute reſignation of himſelf and his dominions to be diſpoſed of at the Emperor's pleaſure; a ſubmiſſive petition for pardon, his hopes of which were founded entirely on the Emperor's clemency; and it concluded, with promiſes of behaving, for the future, like a ſubject, whoſe principles of loyalty and obedience would be confirmed, and would even derive new force from the ſentiments of gratitude which muſt

The manner in which the Emperor received him.

BOOK IX. 1547. hereafter fill and animate his heart. While the chancellor was reading this abject declaration, the eyes of all the ſpectators were fixed on the unfortunate Landgrave; few could behold a Prince, ſo powerful as well as high-ſpirited, ſuing for mercy in the poſture of a ſuppliant, without being touched with commiſeration, and perceiving ſerious reflections ariſe in their minds upon the inſtability and emptineſs of human grandeur. The Emperor viewed the whole tranſaction with an haughty unfeeling compoſure; and preſerving a profound ſilence himſelf, made a ſign to one of his ſecretaries to read his anſwer; the tenor of which was, That tho' he might have juſtly inflicted on him the grievous puniſhment which his crimes deſerved, yet, prompted by his own generoſity, moved by the ſollicitations of ſeveral Princes in behalf of the Landgrave, and influenced by his penitential acknowledgments, he would not deal with him according to the rigour of juſtice, and would ſubject him to no penalty which was not ſpecified in the articles that he had already ſubſcribed. The moment the ſecretary had finiſhed, Charles turned away abruptly without deigning to give the unhappy ſuppliant any ſign of compaſſion or reconcilement. He did not even deſire him to riſe from his knees; which the Landgrave having ventured to do unbidden, advanced towards the Emperor with an intention to kiſs his hand, flattering himſelf, that his guilt being now fully expiated, he might preſume to take that liberty. But the Elector of Brandenburg perceiving that this familiarity would be offenſive to the Emperor, interpoſed, and deſired the Landgrave to go along with him and Maurice to the Duke of Alva's apartments in the caſtle.

HE was received and entertained by that nobleman with the reſpect and courteſy due to ſuch a gueſt. But, after ſupper, while he was engaged in play, the Duke took the Elector and Maurice aſide, and communicated to them the Emperor's orders

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He is detained a priſoner.

that the Landgrave muſt remain a priſoner in that place under the cuſtody of a Spaniſh guard. As they had not hitherto entertained the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of the Emperor's ſincerity and rectitude of intention, their ſurprize was exceſſive, and their indignation not inferior to it, on diſcovering how greatly they had been deceived themſelves, and how infamouſly abuſed in having been made the inſtruments of deceiving and ruining their friend. They had recourſe to complaints, to arguments and to intreaties, in order to ſave themſelves from that diſgrace, and to extricate him out of the wretched ſituation into which he had been betrayed by too great confidence in them. But the Duke of Alva remained inflexible, and pleaded the neceſſity of executing the Emperor's commands. By this time it grew late, and the Landgrave, who knew nothing of what had paſſed, nor dreaded the ſnare in which he was entangled, prepared for departing, when the fatal orders were intimated to him. He was ſtruck dumb at firſt with aſtoniſhment, but after being ſilent a few moments, he broke out into all the violent expreſſions, which horror at injuſtice accompanied with fraud naturally ſuggeſts. He complained, he expoſtulated, he exclaimed; ſometimes inveighing againſt the Emperor's artifices as unworthy of a great and generous Prince; ſometimes cenſuring the credulity of his friends in truſting to Charles's inſidious promiſes; ſometimes charging them with meanneſs in ſtooping to lend their aſſiſtance towards the execution of ſuch a perfidious and diſhonourable ſcheme; and in the end he required them to remember their engagements to his children, and inſtantly to fulfil them. They, after giving way for a little to the torrent of his paſſion, ſolemnly aſſerted their own innocence and upright intention in the whole tranſaction, and encouraged him to hope, that as ſoon as they ſaw the Emperor, they would obtain redreſs

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of an injury, which affected their own honour, no less than it did his liberty. At the same time, in order to sooth his rage and impatience, Maurice remained with him during the night, in the apartment where he was confined[m].

The Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice solicit in vain for his liberty.

NEXT morning, the Elector and Maurice applied jointly to the Emperor, representing the infamy to which they would be exposed throughout Germany, if the Landgrave were detained in custody; that they would not have advised, nor would he himself have consented to an interview, if they had suspected that the loss of his liberty was to be the consequence of his submission; that they were bound to procure his release, having plighted their faith to that effect, and engaged their own persons as sureties for his. Charles listened to their earnest remonstrances with the utmost coolness. He now stood no longer in need of their services, and they had the mortification to find that their former obsequiousness was forgotten, and little regard paid to their intercession. He was ignorant, he told them, of their particular or private transactions with the Landgrave, nor was his conduct to be regulated by these; though he knew well what he himself had promised, which was not that the Landgrave should be exempt from all restraint, but that he should not be kept a prisoner during life *. Having said this with a peremptory and decisive tone, he put an end to the

[m] Sleid. 433. Thuan. l. iv. 147. Struv. corp. hist. Germ. ii. 1052.

* According to several historians of great name, the Emperor, in his treaty with the Landgrave, stipulated that he would not detain him in any prison. But in executing the deed, which was written in the German tongue, the Imperial ministers fraudulently substituted the word *ewiger* instead of *einiger*, and thus the treaty in place of a promise that he should not be detained in *any* prison, contained only an engagement that he should not be detained in *perpetual* imprisonment.

the conference; and they ſeeing no probability, at that time, of making any impreſſion upon the Emperor, who ſeemed to have taken his reſolution deliberately, and to be obſtinately bent on adhering to it, were obliged to acquaint the unfortunate priſoner with the ill ſucceſs of their endeavours in his behalf. This diſappointment threw him into a new and more violent tranſport of rage, ſo that to prevent his proceeding to ſome deſperate extremity, the Elector and Maurice promiſed that they would not quit the Emperor, until, by the frequency and fervour of their importunity, they had extorted his conſent to ſet him free. They accordingly renewed their ſollicitations a few days afterwards, but found Charles more haughty and intractable than before, and were warned that if they touched again upon a ſubject ſo diſagreeable, and with regard to which he had determined to hear nothing farther, he would inſtantly give orders to convey the priſoner into Spain. Afraid of hurting the Landgrave by an officious or ill-timed zeal to ſerve him, they not only deſiſted, but left the court, and as they did not chuſe to meet the firſt ſallies of the Landgrave's rage upon his learning the cauſe of their departure, they informed him of it by a letter, wherein they exhorted him to fulfil all that he had promiſed to the Emperor, as the moſt certain means of procuring a ſpeedy releaſe.

ment. But authors eminent for hiſtorical knowledge and critical accuracy have called in queſtion the truth of this common ſtory. The ſilence of Sleidan with regard to it, as well as its not being mentioned in the various memorials which he has publiſhed concerning the Landgrave's impriſonment, greatly favour this opinion. But as ſeveral books which contain the information neceſſary towards diſcuſſing this point, with accuracy, are written in the German language, which I do not underſtand, I cannot pretend to inquire into this matter with the ſame accuracy, with which I have endeavoured to ſettle ſome other contraverted facts that have occurred in the courſe of this hiſtory. See Struv. Corp. 1052. Moſheim's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 161, 162. Engl. Edition.

WHATEVER

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1547.

His impatience under restraint.

WHATEVER violent emotions their abandoning his cause in this manner occasioned, his impatience to recover liberty made him follow their advice. He paid the sum which had been imposed on him, ordered his fortresses to be razed, and renounced all alliances that could give offence. This prompt compliance with the will of the conqueror produced no effect. He was still guarded with the same vigilant severity; and being carried about, together with the degraded Elector of Saxony, wherever the Emperor went, their disgrace and his triumph was each day renewed. The fortitude and equanimity, with which the Elector bore these repeated insults, were not more remarkable than the Landgrave's fretfulness and impatience. His active impetuous mind could ill brook restraint; and reflection upon the shameful artifices by which he had been decoyed into that situation, as well as indignation at the injustice with which he was still detained in it, drove him often to the wildest excesses of passion.

The rigour of the Emperor's exactions in Germany.

THE people of the different cities, to whom Charles thus wantonly exposed these illustrious prisoners as a public spectacle, were sensibly touched with such an insult offered to the Germanic body, and murmured loudly at this indecent treatment of two of its greatest Princes. They had soon other causes of complaint, and such as affected them more nearly. Charles proceeded to add oppression to insult, and arrogating to himself all the rights of a conqueror, exercised them with the utmost rigour. He ordered his troops to seize the artillery and military stores belonging to such as had been members of the Smalkaldic league, and having collected upwards of five hundred pieces of cannon, a great number in that age, he sent part of them into the Low-Countries, part into Italy, and

part

part into Spain, in order to ſpread by this means the fame of his ſucceſs, and that they might ſerve as monuments of his having ſubdued a nation, hitherto deemed invincible. He then levied, by his ſole authority, large ſums as well upon thoſe who had ſerved him with fidelity during the war, as upon ſuch as had been in arms againſt him; upon the former, as their contingent towards a war, which having been undertaken, as he pretended, for the common benefit, ought to be carried on at the common charge; upon the latter, as a fine by way of puniſhment for their rebellion. By theſe exactions he amaſſed above one million ſix hundred thouſand crowns, a ſum which appeared prodigious in the ſixteenth century. But ſo general was the conſternation which had ſeized the Germans upon his rapid ſucceſs, and ſuch their dread of his victorious troops, that all implicitly obeyed his commands; though, at the ſame time, theſe extraordinary ſtretches of power greatly alarmed a people, jealous of their privileges, and habituated during ſeveral ages to conſider the Imperial authority as neither extenſive nor formidable. This diſcontent and reſentment, how induſtriouſly ſoever they concealed them, became univerſal; and the more theſe paſſions were reſtrained and kept down for the preſent, the more likely were they to burſt out ſoon with additional violence. Book IX. 1547.

WHILE Charles gave law to the Germans like a conquered people, Ferdinand treated his ſubjects in Bohemia with ſtill greater rigour. That kingdom poſſeſſed privileges and immunities as extenſive as thoſe of any nation in which the feudal inſtitutions were eſtabliſhed. The prerogative of their Kings was extremely limited, and the crown itſelf elective. Ferdinand, when placed on the throne, had confirmed their liberties with every ſolemnity preſcribed by their exceſſive ſollicitude for the ſecurity

Ferdinand's encroachments on the liberties of his Bohemian ſubjects.

Book IX. 1547. ſecurity of a conſtitution of government to which they were extremely attached. He ſoon began, however, to be weary of a juriſdiction ſo much circumſcribed, and to deſpiſe a ſceptre which he could not tranſmit to his poſterity; and notwithſtanding all his former engagements, he attempted to overturn the conſtitution from its foundations; that inſtead of an elective kingdom he might render it hereditary. But the Bohemians ſeemed reſolved not to relinquiſh, tamely, privileges which they had long enjoyed. At the ſame time, many of them having embraced the doctrines of the Reformers, the ſeeds of which John Huſs and Jerome of Prague had planted in their country about the beginning of the preceding century, the deſire of acquiring religious liberty mingled itſelf with their zeal for their civil rights; and theſe two kindred paſſions heightening, as uſual, each other's force, precipitated them immediately into violent meaſures. They had not only refuſed to ſerve their ſovereign againſt the confederates of Smalkalde, but having entered into a cloſe alliance with the Elector of Saxony, they bound themſelves, by a ſolemn aſſociation, to defend their ancient conſtitution; and to perſiſt, until they ſhould obtain ſuch additional grants as they thought neceſſary towards perfecting the preſent model of their government, or rendering it more permanent. They choſe Caſpar Phlug, a nobleman of diſtinction, to be their general; and levied an army of thirty thouſand men to enforce their petitions. But either from the weakneſs of their leader, or from the diſſenſions in a great unwieldy body, which, having united haſtily, was not thoroughly compacted, or from ſome other unknown cauſe, the ſubſequent operations of the Bohemians bore no proportion to the zeal and ardour with which they took their firſt reſolutions. They ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed ſo long with negociations and overtures of different

kinds, that before they could enter Saxony, the battle of Muhlberg was fought, the Elector deprived of his dignity and territories, the Landgrave confined to close custody, and the league of Smalkalde entirely dissipated. The same dread of the Emperor's power which had seized the rest of the Germans, reached them. As soon as their sovereign approached with a body of Imperial troops, they instantly dispersed, thinking of nothing but how to attone for their past guilt, and to acquire some hope of forgiveness, by a prompt submission. But Ferdinand, who entered his dominions full of that implacable resentment which inflames Monarchs whose authority has been despised, was not to be mollified by the late repentance and involuntary return of rebellious subjects to their duty. He even heard, unmoved, the intreaties and tears of the citizens of Prague, who appeared before him in the posture of suppliants, and implored for mercy. The sentence which he pronounced against them was rigorous to extremity; he abolished many of their privileges, he abridged others, and new modelled the constitution according to his pleasure. He punished many of those who had been most active in forming the late association against him with death, and still a greater number with confiscation of their goods, or perpetual banishment. He obliged all his subjects, of every condition, to give up their arms to be deposited in forts where he planted garrisons; and after disarming his people, he loaded them with new and exorbitant taxes. Thus, by an ill conducted and unsuccessful effort to extend their privileges, the Bohemians not only enlarged the sphere of the royal prerogative which they intended to have circumscribed, but they almost annihilated those liberties which they aimed at establishing on a broader and more secure foundation[n].

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[n] Sleid. 408, 419, 434. Thuan. l. iv. 129, 150. Struv. Corp. ii.

BOOK IX.

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Diet held at Augſburg.

THE Emperor, having now humbled, and, as he imagined, ſubdued the independant and ſtubborn ſpirit of the Germans by the terror of arms and the rigour of puniſhment, held a diet at Augſburg, in order to compoſe finally the controverſies with regard to religion, which had ſo long diſturbed the Empire. He durſt not, however, truſt the determination of a matter ſo intereſting to the free ſuffrage of the Germans, broken as their minds now were to ſubjection. He entered the city at the head of his Spaniſh troops, and aſſigned them quarters there. The reſt of his ſoldiers he cantoned in the adjacent villages; ſo that the members of the diet, while they carried on their deliberations, were ſurrounded by the ſame army which had overcome their countrymen. Immediately after his public entry, Charles gave a proof of the violence with which he intended to proceed. He took poſſeſſion by force of the cathedral together with one of the principal churches; and his prieſts having, by various ceremonies, purified them from the pollution with which they ſuppoſed the unhallowed miniſtrations of the Proteſtants to have defiled them, they re-eſtabliſhed with great pomp the rites of the Romiſh worſhip[c].

The Emperor exhorts them to ſubmit to the General Council.

THE concourſe of members to this diet was extraordinary; the importance of the affairs concerning which it was to deliberate, and the fear of giving offence to the Emperor by an abſence which lay open to miſconſtruction, brought together almoſt all the Princes, nobles, and repreſentatives of cities who had right to ſit in that aſſembly. The Emperor, in the ſpeech with which he opened the meeting, called their attention immediately to that point, which ſeemed chiefly to merit it. Having men-

[c] Sleid. 435, 437.

tioned

tioned the fatal effects of the religious diſſenſions which had ariſen in Germany, and taken notice of his own unwearied endeavours to procure a general council, which alone could provide a remedy adequate to theſe evils, he exhorted them to recognize its authority, and to ſtand to the award of an aſſembly, to which they had originally appealed, as having the ſole right of judgment in the caſe. BOOK IX. 1547.

Various revolution- in the council.

BUT the council, to which Charles wiſhed them to refer all their controverſies, had, by this time, undergone a violent change. The fear and jealouſy, with which the Emperor's firſt ſucceſſes againſt the confederates of Smalkalde had inſpired the Pope, continued to encreaſe. Not ſatisfied with attempting to retard the progreſs of the Imperial arms, by the ſudden recal of his troops, Paul began to conſider the Emperor as an enemy, the weight of whoſe power he muſt ſoon feel, and againſt whom he could not be too haſty in taking precautions. He foreſaw that the immediate effect of the Emperor's acquiring abſolute power in Germany, would be to render him entirely maſter of all the deciſions of the council, if it ſhould continue to meet in Trent. It was dangerous to allow a Monarch, ſo ambitious, to get the command of this formidable engine, which he might employ at pleaſure to limit or overturn the Papal authority. As the only method of preventing this, he determined to tranſlate the council to ſome city more immediately under his own juriſdiction, and at a greater diſtance from the terror of the Emperor's arms, or the reach of his influence. An incident fortunately occurred which gave this meaſure the appearance of being neceſſary. One or two of the fathers of the council, together with ſome of their domeſtics, happening to

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die ſuddenly, the phyſicians, deceived by the ſymptoms, or ſuborned by the Pope's legates, pronounced the diſtemper to be infectious and peſtilential. Some of the prelates, ſtruck with a panic, retired; others were impatient to be gone; and after a ſhort conſultation, the council was tranſlated to Bologna, a city ſubject to the Pope. All the biſhops in the Imperial intereſt, warmly oppoſed this reſolution, as taken without neceſſity, and founded on falſe or frivolous pretexts. All the Spaniſh prelates, and moſt of the Neapolitan, by the Emperor's expreſs command, remained at Trent; the reſt, to the number of thirty-four, accompanying the legates to Bologna. Thus a ſchiſm commenced, in that very aſſembly, which had been called to heal the diviſions of Chriſtendom; the fathers of Bologna inveighing againſt thoſe who ſtaid at Trent, as contumacious and regardleſs of the Pope's authority; while the other accuſed them of being ſo far intimidated by the fears of imaginary danger, as to remove to a place where their conſultations could prove of no ſervice towards re-eſtabliſhing peace and order in Germany [p].

March 11. Tranſlated from Trent to Bologna.

Symptoms of diſguſt between the Pope and Emperor.

THE Emperor, at the ſame time, employed all his intereſt to procure the return of the council to Trent. But Paul, who highly applauded his own ſagacity in having taken a ſtep which put it out of Charles's power to acquire the direction of that aſſembly, paid no regard to a requeſt, the object of which was ſo extremely obvious. The ſummer was conſumed in fruitleſs negociations with reſpect to this point, the importunity of the one and the obſtinacy of the other daily increaſing. At laſt an event happened which widened the breach irreparably, and rendered the Pope utterly averſe from liſtening to any propoſal that

[p] F. Paul, 248, &c.

came

came from the Emperor. Charles, as has been already obſerved, had ſo violently exaſperated Peter Lewis Farneſe, the Pope's ſon, by refuſing to grant him the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia, that he had watched ever ſince that time with all the vigilance of reſentment for an opportunity of revenging that injury. He had endeavoured to precipitate his father into open hoſtilities againſt the Emperor, and had earneſtly ſollicited the King of France to invade Italy. His hatred and reſentment extended to all thoſe whom he knew that the Emperor favoured; he perſecuted Gonzaga, governor of Milan, with ill offices, and had encouraged Fieſco in his attempt upon the life of Andrew Doria, becauſe both Gonzaga and Doria poſſeſſed a great degree of the Emperor's eſteem and confidence. His malevolence and ſecret intrigues were not unknown to the Emperor, who could not be more deſirous to take vengeance on him, than Gonzaga and Doria were to be employed as his inſtruments in inflicting it. Farneſe, by the profligacy of his life, and by enormities of every kind, equal to thoſe committed by the worſt tyrants who have diſgraced human nature, had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that they thought any violence whatever might be attempted againſt him. They ſoon found among his own ſubjects, perſons who were eager, and even deemed it meritorious to lend their hands in ſuch a ſervice. As he, animated with the jealouſy which uſually poſſeſſes petty ſovereigns, had employed all the cruelty and fraud, whereby they endeavour to ſupply their defect of power, in order to humble and extirpate the nobility ſubject to his government, five noblemen of the greateſt diſtinction in Placentia, combined to avenge the injuries, which they themſelves had ſuffered, as well as thoſe which he had offered to their order. They formed their plan in conjunction with Gonzaga; but it remains uncertain whether he

The aſſaſſination of the Pope's ſon.

Book IX. 1547. originally ſuggeſted the ſcheme to them, or only approved of what they propoſed, and co-operated in carrying it on. They concerted all the previous ſteps with ſuch foreſight, conducted their intrigues with ſuch ſecrecy, and diſplayed ſuch courage in the execution of their deſign, that it may be ranked among the moſt audacious deeds of that nature mentioned in hiſtory. One body of the conſpirators ſurprized, at mid-day, Sept. 10. the gates of the citadel of Placentia where Farneſe reſided, overpowered his guards, and murdered him. Another party of them made themſelves maſters of the town, and called upon their fellow-citizens to take arms, in order to reaſſume their liberty. The multitude ran towards the citadel, from which three great guns, a ſignal concerted with Gonzaga, had been fired; and before they could gueſs the cauſe or the authors of the tumult, they ſaw the lifeleſs body of the tyrant hanging by the heels from one of the windows of the citadel. But ſo univerſally deteſtable had he become, that not one expreſſed any ſentiment of concern at ſuch a ſad reverſe of fortune, or of indignation at this ignominious treatment of a ſovereign Prince. The exultation at the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy was general, and all applauded the actors in it, as the deliverers of their country. The body was tumbled into the ditch that ſurrounded the citadel, and expoſed to the inſults of the rabble; the reſt of the citizens returned to their uſual occupations, as if nothing extraordinary had happened.

The Imperial troops take poſſeſſion of Placentia.

BEFORE next morning, a body of troops arriving from the frontiers of the Milaneſe, where they had been poſted in expectation of the event, took poſſeſſion of the city in the Emperor's name, and reinſtated the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their ancient privileges. Parma, which the Imperialiſts attempted

likewiſe to ſurprize, was ſaved by the vigilance and fidelity of the officers whom Farneſe had intruſted with the command of the garriſon. The death of a ſon whom, notwithſtanding his infamous vices, Paul loved with an exceſs of parental tenderneſs, overwhelmed him with the deepeſt affliction; and the loſs of a city, of ſuch conſequence as Placentia, greatly embittered his ſorrow. He accuſed Gonzaga, in open conſiſtory, of having committed a cruel murder in order to prepare the way for an unjuſt uſurpation, and immediately demanded of the Emperor ſatisfaction for both; for the former, by the puniſhment of Gonzaga; for the latter, by the reſtitution of Placentia to his grandſon Octavio, its rightful owner. But Charles, who, rather than quit a prize of ſuch value, was willing to expoſe himſelf to the imputation of being acceſſary to the crime which had given an opportunity of ſeizing it, and to bear the infamy of defrauding his own ſon-in-law of the inheritance which belonged to him, eluded all his ſollicitations, and determined to keep poſſeſſion of the city together with its territories[q].

The Pope courts the alliance of the French King and the Venetians.

THIS reſolution, flowing from an ambition ſo rapacious, as to be reſtrained by no conſideration either of decency or juſtice, tranſported the Pope ſo far beyond his uſual moderation and caution, that he was eager to take arms againſt the Emperor in order to be avenged on the murderers of his ſon, and to recover the inheritance wreſted from his family. Conſcious, however, of his own inability to contend with ſuch an enemy, he warmly ſollicited the French King and the republick of Venice to join in an offenſive league againſt Charles. But Henry was intent at

[q] F. Paul. 257. Pallavic. 41, 42. Thuan. iv. 156. Mem. de Ribier. 59, 67. Natalis Comitis Hiſtor. lib. iii. p. 64.

that

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that time on other objects. His ancient allies the Scots, having been defeated by the Engliſh in one of the greateſt battles ever fought between theſe two rival nations, he was about to ſend a numerous body of veteran troops into that country, as well to preſerve it from being conquered, as to gain the acquiſition of a new kingdom to the French monarchy, by marrying his ſon the Dauphin to the young Queen of Scotland. An undertaking accompanied with ſuch manifeſt advantages, the ſucceſs of which appeared to be ſo certain, was not to be relinquiſhed for the remote proſpect of benefit from an alliance depending upon the precarious life of a Pope of fourſcore, who had nothing at heart but the gratification of his own private reſentment. Inſtead, therefore, of ruſhing headlong into the alliance propoſed, Henry amuſed the Pope with ſuch general profeſſions and promiſes, as might keep him from any thoughts of endeavouring to accommodate his differences with the Emperor, but at the ſame time avoided any ſuch engagement as might occaſion an immediate rupture between Charles and himſelf, or precipitate him into a war for which he was not prepared. The Venetians, though much alarmed at ſeeing Placentia in the hands of the Imperialiſts, imitated the wary conduct of the French King, which reſembled ſo nearly the ſpirit with which they themſelves uſually carried on their negociations[r].

The diet of Augſburg petitions for the return of the council to Trent.

BUT, though the Pope found that it was not in his power to light up immediately the flames of war, he did not forget the injuries, which he was obliged for the preſent to endure; reſentment ſettled deeper in his mind, and became more rancorous in proportion as he felt the difficulty of gratifying it. It

[r] Mem. de Ribier. ii. 63, 71, 78, 85, 95. Paruta Iſtor. di Venez. 199, 203. Thuan. iv. 160.

was,

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was, while theſe ſentiments of enmity were in full force, and the deſire of vengeance at its height, that the diet of Augſburg, by the Emperor's command, petitioned the Pope, in name of the whole Germanic body, to enjoin the prelates who had retired to Bologna, to return again to Trent, and to renew their deliberations in that place. Charles had been at great pains in bringing the members to join in this requeſt. Having obſerved a conſiderable variety of ſentiments among the Proteſtants with reſpect to the ſubmiſſion which he had required to the decrees of the council, ſome of them being altogether intractable, while others were ready to acknowledge its right of juriſdiction upon certain conditions, he employed all his addreſs in order to gain or to divide them. He threatened and over-awed the Elector Palatine, a weak Prince, and obnoxious to vengeance on account of the aſſiſtance which he had given to the confederates of Smalkalde. The hope of procuring liberty for the Landgrave, together with the formal confirmation of his own electoral dignity, overcame Maurice's ſcruples, or prevented him from oppoſing what he knew would be agreeable to the Emperor. The Elector of Brandenburgh, leſs influenced by religious zeal than any Prince of that age, was eaſily induced to imitate their example in aſſenting to all that the Emperor required. The deputies of the cities remained ſtill to be brought over; they were more tenacious of their principles, and though every thing that could operate either on their hopes or fears was tried, the utmoſt that they would promiſe was to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the council, if effectual proviſion were made for ſecuring the divines of all parties free acceſs to that aſſembly, with entire liberty of debate; and if all points in controverſy were decided according to ſcripture and the uſage of the primi-

Book IX. 1547. tive church. But when the memorial containing this declaration was preſented to the Emperor, he ventured to put in practice a very extraordinary artifice. Without reading the paper, or taking any notice of the conditions on which they had inſiſted, he

Oct. 29. ſeemed to take it for granted that they had complied with his demand, and gave thanks to the deputies for their full and unreſerved ſubmiſſion to the decrees of the council. The deputies, though aſtoniſhed at what they had heard, did not attempt to ſet him right, both parties being better pleaſed that the matter ſhould remain under this ſtate of ambiguity, than to puſh for an explanation, which muſt have occaſioned a diſpute, and would have led, perhaps, to a rupture[a].

The Pope eludes the demand. HAVING obtained this ſeeming ſubmiſſion of the diet to the authority of the council, Charles employed that as an argument to enforce their petition for its return to Trent. But the Pope, from the ſatisfaction of mortifying the Emperor, as well as from his own averſion to what was demanded, reſolved, without heſitation, that this petition ſhould be rejected; though in order to avoid the imputation of being influenced wholly by reſentment, he had the addreſs to throw it upon the fathers at Bologna, to put a direct negative upon the requeſt. He referred to their conſideration the petition of the diet, and they, ready to confirm by their aſſent whatever the legates were pleaſed to dictate,

Dec. 20. declared that the council could not, in conſiſtence with its dignity, return to Trent, unleſs the prelates who, by remaining there, had diſcovered a ſchiſmatick ſpirit, would firſt repair to Bologna, and join their brethren; and that, even after their junction, the council could not renew its conſultations with any

[a] P. Paul, 259. Sleid. 440. Thuan. tom. i. 455.

prospect of benefit to the church, if the Germans did not prove their intention of obeying its future decrees to be sincere, by yielding immediate obedience to those which it had already past[t].

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The Emperor protests against the council of Bologna.

THIS answer was communicated to the Emperor by the Pope, who at the same time exhorted him to comply with demands that appeared to be so reasonable. But Charles was better acquainted with the duplicity of the Pope's character than to be deceived by such a gross artifice; he knew that the prelates of Bologna durst utter no sentiment but what Paul inspired; and, therefore, overlooking them as mere instruments in the hand of another, he considered their reply as a full discovery of the Pope's intentions. As he could no longer hope to acquire such an ascendant in the council as to render it subservient to his own plan, he saw it to be necessary that Paul should not have it in his power to turn against him the authority of so venerable an assembly. In order to prevent this, he sent two Spanish lawyers to Bologna, who, in the presence of the legates, protested, That the translation of the council to that place had been unnecessary, and founded on false or frivolous pretexts; that while it continued to meet there, it ought to be deemed an unlawful and schismatical conventicle; that all its decisions ought of course to be held as null and invalid; and that as the Pope, together with the corrupt ecclesiastics who depended on him, had abandoned the care of the church, the Emperor, as its protector, would employ all the power which God had committed to him, in order to preserve it from those calamities with which it was threatened. A few days after, the Imperial ambassador at

1548. January 16.

Jan. 23.

[t] F. Paul, 250. P. Illa7. ii. 49.

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Rome demanded an audience of the Pope, and in preſence of all the Cardinals as well as foreign miniſters, proteſted againſt the proceedings of the prelates at Bologna, in terms equally harſh and diſreſpectful*.

The Emperor prepares a ſyſtem, to ſerve as the rule of faith in Germany.

IT was not long before Charles proceeded to carry theſe threats, which greatly alarmed both the Pope and council at Bologna, into execution. He let the diet know the ill ſucceſs of his endeavours to procure a favourable anſwer to their petition, and that the Pope, equally regardleſs of their entreaties, and of his ſervices to the church, had refuſed to gratify them by allowing the council to meet again at Trent; that, though all hope of holding this aſſembly in a place, where they might look for freedom of debate and judgment, was not to be given up, the proſpect of it was, at preſent, diſtant and uncertain; that, in the mean time, Germany was torn in pieces by religious diſſenſions, the purity of the faith corrupted, and the minds of the people diſquieted with a multiplicity of new opinions and controverſies formerly unknown among Chriſtians; that, moved by the duty which he owed to them as their ſovereign, and to the Church as its protector, he had employed ſome divines, of known abilities and learning, to prepare a ſyſtem of doctrine, to which all ſhould conform until a council, ſuch as they wiſhed for, could be convocated. This ſyſtem was compiled by Pflug, Helding and Agricola, of whom the two former were dignitaries in the Romiſh church, but remarkable for their pacific and healing ſpirit; the laſt was a Proteſtant divine, ſuſpected, not without reaſon, of having been gained by bribes and promiſes, to betray or miſlead his party on this occaſion. The articles

* F. Paul, 264. Pallav. 51. Sleid. 4. 6. Goldaſti Conſtit. Imperial. i. 561.

preſented.

presented to the diet of Ratisbon in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-one, in order to reconcile the contending parties, served as a model for the present work. But as the Emperor's situation was much changed since that time, and he found it no longer necessary to manage the Protestants with the same delicacy as at that juncture, the concessions in their favour were not now so numerous, nor did they extend to points of so much consequence. The treatise contained a compleat system of theology, conformable in almost every article to the tenets of the Romish church, though expressed, for the most part, in the softest words, or in scriptural phrases, or in terms of studied ambiguity. Every doctrine, however, peculiar to Popery, was retained; and all the rites, which the Protestants condemned as inventions of men introduced into the worship of God, were enjoined. With regard to two points only, some relaxation of their rigour was granted, and some latitude in practice admitted. Such ecclesiastics as had married, and would not put away their wives, were allowed, nevertheless, to perform all the functions of their sacred office; and those provinces which had been accustomed to partake of the cup, as well as of the bread in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, were still indulged the privilege of receiving both. Even these were declared to be concessions for the sake of peace, and granted only for a season, in compliance with the weakness or prejudices of their countrymen [x].

This system of doctrine, known afterwards by the name of the *Interim*, because it contained temporary regulations which were

This, which was called the *Interim*, he lays before the diet, May 15.

[x] F. Paul, 270. Pallav. ii. 60. Sleid. 453, 457. Struv. Corp. 1054. Goldast. Constit. Imper. i. 518.

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to continue no longer in force than until a free general council could be held, the Emperor preſented to the diet with a pompous declaration of his ſincere intention to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity and order in the church, as well as of his hopes that their adopting theſe regulations would contribute greatly to bring about that deſirable event. It was read, in preſence, according to form. As ſoon as it was finiſhed the archbiſhop of Mentz, preſident of the electoral college, roſe up haſtily, and having thanked the Emperor for his unwearied and pious endeavours in order to reſtore peace to the church, he, in name of the diet, ſignified their approbation of the ſyſtem of doctrine which he had prepared, together with their reſolution of conforming to it in every particular. The whole aſſembly was amazed at a declaration ſo unprecedented and unconſtitutional, as well as at the Elector's preſumption in pretending to deliver the ſenſe of the diet, upon a point, which had not hitherto been the ſubject of conſultation or debate. But not one member had the courage to contradict what the Elector had ſaid; ſome being overawed by fear, others remaining ſilent through complaiſance. The Emperor held the archbiſhop's declaration to be a full conſtitutional ratification of the Interim, and prepared to enforce the obſervance of it, as a decree of the Empire[y].

and extorts their approbation of it.

New and fruitleſs ſollicitations for the Landgrave's liberty.

During this diet, the wife and children of the Landgrave, warmly ſeconded by Maurice of Saxony, endeavoured to intereſt the members in behalf of that unhappy Prince, who ſtill languiſhed in confinement. But Charles, who did not chuſe to be brought under the neceſſity of rejecting any requeſt that came from ſuch a reſpectable body, in order to prevent their repreſentations, laid before the diet an account of his tranſactions with the Landgrave, together with the motives which had

[y] Sleid. 460. F. Paul, 273. Pallav. 63.

at

at firſt induced him to detain that Prince in cuſtody, and which rendered it prudent, as he alledged, to keep him ſtill under reſtraint. It was no eaſy matter to give any good reaſon for an action, incapable of being juſtified. But he thought the moſt frivolous pretexts might be produced in an aſſembly willing to be deceived, and afraid of nothing ſo much as to diſcover that it ſaw his conduct in its true colours. His account of his own conduct was accordingly admitted to be fully ſatisfactory, and after ſome feeble intreaties that he would extend his clemency to his unfortunate priſoner, the Landgrave's concerns were no more mentioned[z].

IN order to counterbalance the unfavourable impreſſion which this inflexible rigour might leave in their minds, Charles, as a proof that his gratitude was no leſs permanent and unchangeable than his reſentment, inveſted Maurice, in the elect ral dignity, with all the legal formalities. The ceremony was performed, with extraordinary pomp, in an open court, ſo near the apartment in which the degraded Elector was kept a priſoner, that he could view it from his windows. Even this inſult did not ruffle his uſual tranquillity; and turning his eyes that way, he beheld a proſperous rival receiving thoſe enſigns of dignity of which he had been ſtripped, without uttering one ſentiment unbecoming the fortitude which he had preſerved amidſt all his calamities[a].

IMMEDIATELY after the diſſolution of the diet, the Emperor ordered the Interim to be publiſhed in the German as well as Latin language. It met with the uſual reception of conciliating

The Interim equally diſapproved of by Proteſtants and Papiſts.

[z] Sleid. 441. [a] Thuan. Hiſt. lib. v. 176. Struv. Corp. 1054. Inveſtitura Mauritii a Mammerano Lucemburgo deſcripta ap. Scardium ii. 508.

ſchemes

Book IX. 1548. ſchemes when propoſed to men heated with diſputation; both parties declaimed againſt it with equal violence. The Proteſtants condemned it as a ſyſtem containing the groſſeſt errors of Popery, diſguiſed with ſo little art, that it could impoſe only on the moſt ignorant, or on thoſe who by wilfully ſhutting their eyes favoured the deception. The Papiſts inveighed againſt it, as a work, in which ſome doctrines of the church were impiouſly given up, others meanly concealed, and all of them delivered in terms calculated rather to deceive the unwary, than to inſtruct the ignorant, or to reclaim thoſe who were enemies to the truth. While the Lutheran divines fiercely attacked it, on one hand, the general of the Dominicans with no leſs vehemence impugned it, on the other. But at Rome, as ſoon as the contents of the Interim came to be known, the indignation of the courtiers and eccleſiaſtics roſe to the greateſt height. They exclaimed againſt the Emperor's profane encroachment on the ſacerdotal function, in preſuming, with the concurrence of an aſſembly of laymen, to define articles of faith, and to regulate modes of worſhip. They compared this raſh deed to that of Uzzah, who, with an unhallowed hand, had touched the ark of God; or to the bold attempts of thoſe Emperors, who had rendered their memory deteſtable, by endeavouring to model the Chriſtian church according to their pleaſure. They even affected to find out a reſemblance between the Emperor's conduct and that of Henry VIII. and expreſſed their fear of his imitating the example of that Monarch, by uſurping the title as well as juriſdiction belonging to the head of the church. All, therefore, contended, with one voice, that as the foundations of eccleſiaſtical authority were now ſhaken, and the whole fabric ready to be overturned by a new enemy; ſome powerful method of defence muſt be provided, and a vigorous

reſiſtance

resiſtance muſt be made, at the beginning, before he grew too formidable to be oppoſed.

The ſentiments of the Pope with regard to it.

THE Pope, whoſe judgment was improved by longer experience in great tranſactions, as well as by a more extenſive obſervation of human affairs, viewed the matter with more acute diſcernment, and derived comfort from the very circumſtance which filled them with apprehenſion. He was aſtoniſhed, that a Prince of ſuch ſuperior ſagacity as the Emperor ſhould be ſo intoxicated with a ſingle victory, as to imagine that he might give law to mankind, and decide even in thoſe matters, with regard to which they are moſt impatient of dominion. He ſaw that, by joining any one of the contending parties in Germany, Charles might have had it in his power to have oppreſſed the other, but that the preſumption of ſucceſs had now inſpired him with the vain thought of his being able to domineer over both; he foretold that a ſyſtem, which all attacked, and none defended, could not be of long duration; and that, for this reaſon, there was no need of his interpoſing in order to haſten its fall; for as ſoon as the powerful hand which now upheld it was withdrawn, it would ſink of its own accord, and be forgotten for ever [b].

The Emperor enforces compliance with the Interim.

THE Emperor, fond of his own plan, adhered to his reſolution of carrying it into full execution. But though the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, influenced by the ſame conſiderations as formerly, ſeemed ready to yield implicit obedience to whatever he ſhould enjoin, he met not every where with a like obſequious ſubmiſſion. John Marquis of Brandenburg Anſpach, although he had taken part with

[b] Sleid. 468. F. Paul. 271, 277. Pallav. ii. 64.

Book IX. 1548. great zeal in the war againſt the confederates of Smalkalde, refuſed to renounce doctrines which he held to be ſacred, and reminding the Emperor of the repeated promiſes which he had given his Proteſtant allies of allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion, he claimed, in conſequence of theſe, to be exempted from receiving the Interim. Some other Princes, alſo, ventured to mention the ſame ſcruples, and to plead the ſame indulgence. But on this, as on other trying occaſions, the firmneſs of the Elector of Saxony was moſt diſtinguiſhed, and merited the higheſt praiſe. Charles, well knowing the authority of his example with all the Proteſtant party, laboured, with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, to gain his approbation of the Interim, and by employing ſometimes promiſes of ſetting him at liberty, ſometimes threats of treating him with greater harſhneſs, attempted alternately to work upon his hopes and fears. But he was, alike, regardleſs of both. After having declared his fixed belief in the doctrines of the reformation, "I cannot now, ſaid he, in my old age, abandon the principles, for which I early contended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cauſe, on account of which I have ſuffered ſo much, and am ſtill willing to ſuffer. Better for me to enjoy, in this ſolitude, the eſteem of virtuous men, together with the approbation of my own conſcience, than to return into the world, with the imputation and guilt of apoſtacy, to diſgrace and embitter the remainder of my days." By this magnanimous reſolution, he ſet his countrymen a pattern of conduct, ſo very different from that which the Emperor wiſhed him to have exhibited to them, that it drew upon him freſh marks of his indignation. The rigour of his confinement was increaſed; the number of his ſervants abridged;

the Lutheran clergymen who had hitherto been permitted to attend him, were diſmiſſed; and even the books of devotion, which had been his chief conſolation during a tedious impriſonment, were taken from him [c]. The Landgrave of Heſſe, his companion in misfortune, did not maintain the ſame conſtancy. His patience and fortitude were both ſo much exhauſted by the length of his confinement, that willing to purchaſe freedom at any price, he wrote to the Emperor, offering not only to approve of the Interim, but to yield an unreſerved ſubmiſſion to his will in every other particular. But Charles who knew, that what courſe ſoever the Landgrave might hold, neither his example nor authority would prevail on his children or ſubjects to receive the Interim, paid no regard to his offers. He was kept confined as ſtrictly as ever; and while he ſuffered the cruel mortification of having his conduct ſet in contraſt to that of the Elector, he derived not the ſmalleſt benefit from the mean ſtep which expoſed him to ſuch deſerved cenſure [d].

The free cities ſtruggle againſt receiving the Interim.

BUT it was in the Imperial cities that Charles met with the moſt violent oppoſition to the Interim. Theſe ſmall commonwealths, the citizens of which were accuſtomed to liberty and independence, had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation when firſt publiſhed with remarkable eagerneſs; the bold ſpirit of innovation being peculiarly ſuited to the genius of free government. Among them, the Proteſtant teachers had made the greateſt number of proſelytes. The moſt eminent divines of the party were ſettled there as paſtors. By having the direction of the ſchools and other ſeminaries of learning, they had trained up diſciples as well inſtructed in the articles of their faith, as

[c] Sleid. 462. [d] Sleid. 462.

Book IX. 1548. zealous to defend them. Such perſons were not to be guided by example, or ſwayed by authority, but having been taught to examine and to decide in matters of controverſy, thought that they were both qualified and entitled to judge for themſelves. As ſoon as the contents of the Interim were known, they, with one voice, joined in refuſing to admit it. Straſburg, Conſtance, Bremen, Magdeburgh, together with many other towns of leſs note, preſented remonſtrances to the Emperor, ſetting forth the irregular and unconſtitutional manner in which the Interim had been enacted, and beſeeching him not to offer ſuch violence to their conſciences, as to require their aſſent to a form of doctrine and worſhip, which appeared to them repugnant to the expreſs precepts of the divine law. But Charles, having prevailed on ſo many Princes of the Empire to approve of his new model, was not much moved by the repreſentations of theſe cities, which how formidable ſoever they might have proved if they could have been formed into one body, lay ſo remote from each other, that it was eaſy to oppreſs them ſeparately, before it was poſſible for them to unite.

Compelled by violence to ſubmit.

In order to accompliſh this, the Emperor ſaw it to be requiſite that his meaſures ſhould be vigorous, and executed with ſuch rapidity as to allow no time for concerting any common plan of oppoſition. Having laid down this maxim as the rule of his proceedings, his firſt attempt was upon the city of Augſburg, which, though overawed by the preſence of the Spaniſh troops, he knew to be as much diſſatisfied with the Interim as any in the Empire. He ordered one body of theſe troops to ſeize the gates; he poſted the reſt in different quarters of the city; and

Aug. 3. aſſembling all the burgeſſes in the town, he, by his ſole abſolute

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ſolute authority, publiſhed a decree aboliſhing their preſent form of government, diſſolving all their corporations and fraternities, and nominating a ſmall number of perſons, in whom he veſted for the future the right of adminiſtration. Each of the perſons, thus choſen, took an oath to obſerve the Interim. An act of power, ſo unprecedented as well as arbitrary, which excluded the body of the inhabitants from any ſhare in the government of their own community, and ſubjected them to men who had no other merit than their ſervile devotion to the Emperor's will, gave general diſguſt; but as they durſt not venture upon reſiſtance, they were obliged to ſubmit in ſilence [e]. From Auſburg, in which he left a garriſon, he proceeded to Ulm, and new modelling its government with the ſame violent hand, he ſeized ſuch of their paſtors as refuſed to ſubſcribe the Interim, committed them to priſon, and at his departure carried them along with him in chains [f]. By this ſeverity, he not only ſecured the reception of the Interim in two of the moſt powerful cities, but gave warning to the reſt what ſuch as continued refractory had to expect. The effect of the example was as great as he could have wiſhed, and many towns, in order to ſave themſelves from the like vengeance, found it neceſſary to comply with what he enjoined. This obedience, extorted by the rigour of authority, produced no change in the ſentiments of the Germans, and extended no farther than to make them conform ſo far to the letter of the law, as was barely ſufficient to ſcreen them from puniſhment. Their preachers accompanied thoſe ceremonies, the obſervation of which the Interim preſcribed, with ſuch an explication of their tendency, as ſerved

[e] Sleid. 469.

[f] Sleid. 472.

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rather to confirm than to remove the ſcruples of their hearers with regard to them. The people, many of whom had grown up to mature years ſince the eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion, and had been accuſtomed to no other form of publick worſhip, beheld the pompous pageantry of the popiſh ſervice with contempt or horror; and in moſt places the Romiſh eccleſiaſticks who returned to take poſſeſſion of their churches could ſcarce be protected from inſult, or their miniſtrations from interruption. Thus, notwithſtanding the apparent compliance of ſo many cities, the inhabitants being accuſtomed to freedom, ſubmitted with reluctance to the power which now oppreſſed them. Their underſtanding as well as inclination revolted againſt the doctrines and rites impoſed on them; and though, for the preſent, they concealed their indignation and reſentment, it was evident that theſe paſſions could not always be kept under reſtraint, but would break out at laſt in effects proportional to their violence [s].

The Pope diſmiſſes the Council aſſembled at Bologna.

CHARLES, meanwhile, highly pleaſed with having bended the ſtubborn ſpirit of the Germans to ſuch general ſubmiſſion, departed for the Low-Countries, fully determined to compel the cities, which ſtill ſtood out, to receive the Interim. He carried his two priſoners the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe along with him, either becauſe he durſt not leave them behind him in Germany, or becauſe he wiſhed to give his countrymen the Flemings this illuſtrious proof of the ſucceſs of his arms, and the extent of his power. Before Charles arrived

Sept. 17. at Bruſſels he was informed that the Pope's legates at Bologna

[s] Mem. de Ribier. ii. 218. Sleid. 491.

had

had dismissed the council by an indefinite prorogation, and that the prelates assembled there had returned to their respective countries. Necessity had driven the Pope into this measure. By the secession of those who had voted against the translation, together with the departure of others, who grew weary of continuing in a place where they were not suffered to proceed to business, so few and such inconsiderable members remained, that the pompous appellation of a General Council could not, with decency, be bestowed any longer upon them. Paul had no choice but to dissolve an assembly which was become the object of contempt, and exhibited to all Christendom a most glaring proof of the impotence of the Romish see. But unavoidable as the measure was, it lay open to be unfavourably interpreted, and had the appearance of withdrawing the remedy at the very time when those for whose recovery it was provided, were prevailed on to acknowledge its virtue, and to make trial of its effect. Charles did not fail to put this construction on his conduct; and by an artful comparison of his own efforts to suppress heresy, with Paul's scandalous inattention to a point so essential, he endeavoured to render the Pontiff odious to all zealous Catholicks. At the same time, he commanded the Prelates of his faction to remain at Trent, that the Council might still appear to have a being, and might be ready, whenever it was thought expedient, to resume its deliberations for the good of the church [h].

The Emperor receives his son Philip in the Low-Countries.

The motive of Charles's journey to the Low-Countries, besides gratifying his favourite passion of travelling from one part of his dominions to another, was to receive Philip his

[h] Pallav. p. 11. 72.

only

Book IX. 1548. only ſon, who was now in the twenty-firſt year of his age, and whom he had called thither, not only that he might be recognized by the States of the Netherlands as heir apparent, but in order to facilitate the execution of a vaſt ſcheme, the object of which, and the reception it met with, ſhall be hereafter explained. Philip, having left the government of Spain to Maximilian, Ferdinand's eldeſt ſon, to whom the Emperor had given the Princeſs Mary his daughter in marriage, embarked for Italy attended by a numerous retinue of Spaniſh nobles[i]. The ſquadron which eſcorted him, was commanded by Andrew Doria, who, notwithſtanding his advanced age, inſiſted on the honour of performing, in perſon, the ſame duty to the ſon, which he had often diſcharged towards the father. He
Novem. 25. landed ſafely at Genoa; from thence he went to Milan, and proceeding through Germany, arrived at the Imperial court in
1549. April 1. Bruſſels. The States of Brabant in the firſt place, and thoſe of the other provinces in their order, acknowledged his right of ſucceſſion in common form, and he took the cuſtomary oath to preſerve all their privileges inviolate[k]. In all the towns of the Low-Countries through which Philip paſſed he was received with extraordinary pomp. Nothing that could expreſs the reſpect of the people, or contribute to his amuſement was neglected; pageants, tournaments, and publick ſpectacles of every kind were exhibited with that expenſive magnificence which commercial nations diſplay, when, on any occaſion, they depart from their uſual maxims of frugality. But amidſt theſe ſcenes of feſtivity and pleaſure Philip's natural ſeverity of temper was diſcernible. Youth itſelf could not render him agreeable, nor his being a candidate for power form him to courteſy. He

[i] Ochoa, Carolea, 362. [k] Haræi. annal. Brabant. 652.

maintained

maintained a haughty reſerve in his behaviour, and diſcovered ſuch manifeſt partiality towards his Spaniſh attendants, together with ſuch an avowed preference to the manners of their country, as highly diſguſted the Flemings, and gave riſe to that antipathy, which afterwards occaſioned a revolution ſo fatal to him in that part of his dominions [l]. BOOK IX. 1548.

CHARLES was long detained in the Netherlands by a violent attack of the gout, which returned upon him ſo frequently, and with ſuch increaſing violence, that it had broken to a great degree the vigour of his conſtitution. He, nevertheleſs, did not intermit his endeavours, to enforce the Interim. The inhabitants of Straſbourg after a long ſtruggle, found it neceſſary to give obedience; thoſe of Conſtance, who had taken arms in their own defence, were compelled by force not only to conform to the Interim, but to renounce their privileges as a free city, to do homage to Ferdinand as Archduke of Auſtria, and as his vaſſals to admit an Auſtrian governor and garriſon [m]. Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck were the only Imperial cities of note that ſtill continued refractory.

[l] Mem. de Ribier ii. 29. L'Eveſque Mem. de Card. Granvelle, i. 21.
[m] Sleid. 474, 491.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK X.

Book X.

1549.

The Pope's schemes against the Emperor.

WHILE Charles laboured, with such unwearied industry, to overcome the obstinacy of the Protestants, the effects of his steddiness in the execution of his plan were rendered less considerable by his rupture with the Pope, which daily increased. The firm resolution which the Emperor seemed to have taken against restoring Placentia, together with his repeated encroachments on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, both by the regulations contained in the Interim, and by his attempt to re-assemble a council at Trent, exasperated Paul to the utmost, who with the weakness incident to old age grew more attached

to

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to his family, and more jealous of his authority, as he advanced in years. Puſhed on by theſe paſſions, he made new efforts to draw the French King into an alliance againſt the Emperor [a]. But finding that Monarch, notwithſtanding his hereditary enmity to Charles, and dread of his growing power, as unwilling as formerly to involve himſelf in immediate hoſtilities, he was obliged to contract his views, and to think of preventing future encroachments, ſince it was not in his power to inflict vengeance on account of thoſe which were paſt. For this purpoſe, he determined to recall his grant of Parma and Placentia, and after declaring them to be re-annexed to the Holy ſee, to indemnify Octavio by a new eſtabliſhment in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. By this expedient, he hoped to gain two points of no ſmall conſequence; the ſecurity of Parma, firſt of all, as the Emperor would be cautious of invading the patrimony of the church, though he might ſeize without ſcruple a town belonging to the houſe of Farneſe; and in the next place, ſome chance of recovering Placentia, as his ſollicitations to that effect might decently be urged with greater importunity, and would infallibly be attended with more weight, when he was conſidered not as pleading the cauſe of his family, but as an advocate for the intereſt of the church. But while Paul was priding himſelf in this device, as a happy refinement in policy, Octavio an ambitious and high ſpirited young man, who could not bear with patience to be ſpoiled of one half of his territories by the rapaciouſneſs of his father-in-law, and to be deprived of the other by the artifices of his grand father, took meaſures in order to prevent the execution of a plan fatal to his in-

[a] Mem. de Ribier. ii. 230.

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tereſt. He ſet out ſecretly from Rome, and having firſt endeavoured to ſurprize Parma, which attempt was fruſtrated by the fidelity of the governor to whom the Pope had entruſted the defence of the town, he made overtures to the Emperor of renouncing all connection with the Pope, and depending entirely on him for his future fortune. This unexpected defection of one of the Pope's own family to an enemy whom he hated, irritated, almoſt to madneſs, a mind peeviſh with old age; and there was no degree of ſeverity to which Paul might not have proceeded againſt a grandſon whom he reproached as an unnatural apoſtate. But happily for Octavio, death prevented his carrying into execution the harſh reſolutions which he had taken with reſpect to him, and put an end to his pontificate in the ſixteenth year of his adminiſtration, and the eighty ſecond of his age *.

As

* Among many inſtances of the credulity or weakneſs of hiſtorians in attributing the death of illuſtrious perſonages to extraordinary cauſes, this is one. Almoſt all the hiſtorians of the ſixteenth century affirm that the death of Paul III. was occaſioned by the violent paſſions which the behaviour of his grandſon excited; that being informed while he was airing himſelf in one of his gardens near Rome, of Octavio's attempt on Parma, as well as of his negociations with the Emperor by means of Gonzaga, he fainted away, continued ſome hours in a ſwoon, then fevered, and died within three days. This is the account given of it by Thuanus, lib. vi. 211. Adriani Hiſtor. di ſuoi tempi, lib. vii. 480, and by Father Paul, 280. Even cardinal Pallavicini, better informed than any writer with regard to the events which happened in the papal court, and when not warped by prejudice or ſyſtem, more accurate in relating them, agrees with their narrative in its chief circumſtances. Pallav. b. ii. 74. Paruta, who wrote his hiſtory by command of the ſenate of Venice, relates it in the ſame manner. Hiſtories Venez. vol. iv. 212. But there was no occaſion to ſearch for any extraordinary cauſe to account for the death of an old man of eighty two. There remains an authentick account of this event, in which we find none of thoſe marvellous circumſtances of which the hiſtorians are ſo fond. The cardinal

of

1550.

As this event had been long expected, there was an extraordinary concourſe of Cardinals at Rome; and the various competitors having had time to form their parties, and to concert their meaſures, their ambition and intrigues protracted the conclave to a great length. The Imperial and French factions ſtrove, with emulation, to promote one of their own number, and had, by turns, the proſpect of ſucceſs. But as Paul during a long Pontificate had raiſed many to the purple, and thoſe chiefly perſons of eminent abilities as well as zealouſly devoted to his family, Cardinal Farneſe had the command of a powerful and

of Ferrara, who was entruſted with the affairs of France at the Court of Rome, and M. D'Urfé, Henry's ambaſſador in ordinary there, wrote an account to that Monarch of the affair of Parma, and of the Pope's death. By theſe it appears, that Octavio's attempt to ſurprize Parma was made on the twentieth of October; that next day in the evening, and not while he was airing himſelf in the gardens of Monte-Cavallo, the Pope received intelligence of what he had done; that he was ſeized with ſuch a tranſport of paſſion, and cried ſo bitterly that his voice was heard in ſeveral apartments of the palace; that next day, however, he was ſo well as to give an audience to the Cardinal of Ferrara, and to go through buſineſs of different kinds; that Octavio wrote a letter to the Pope, not to Cardinal Farneſe his brother, intimating his reſolution of throwing himſelf into the arms of the Emperor; that the Pope received this on the twenty-firſt without any new ſymptoms of emotion, and returned an anſwer to it; that on the twenty-ſecond of October, the day on which the Cardinal of Ferrara's letter is dated, the Pope was in his uſual ſtate of health. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 247. By a letter of M. D'Urfé, Nov. 5. it appears that the Pope was in ſuch good health, that on the third of that month he had celebrated the anniverſary of his coronation with the uſual ſolemnities. Ibidem 251. By another letter from the ſame perſon, we learn that on the ſixth of November a catarrh or defluxion fell down on the Pope's lungs, with ſuch dangerous ſymptoms that his life was immediately deſpaired of, Ibid. 252. And by a third letter, we are informed that he died November the tenth. In none of theſe letters is his death imputed to any extraordinary cauſe. It appears that more than twenty days elapſed between Octavio's attempt on Parma and the death of his grandfather, and that the diſeaſe was the natural effect of old age, not one of thoſe occaſioned by violence of paſſion.

united

BOOK X.

1550.
February 7th. The election of Julius III.

united ſquadron, by whoſe addreſs and firmneſs he exalted to the Papal throne the Cardinal di Monte, whom Paul had employed as his principal legate in the council of Trent, and truſted with his moſt ſecret intentions. He aſſumed the name of Julius III, and in order to expreſs his gratitude towards his benefactor, the firſt act of his adminiſtration was to put Octavio Farneſe in poſſeſſion of Parma. When he was told of the injury which he did the Holy See by alienating a territory of ſuch value, he briſkly replied, "that he would rather be a poor Pope, with the reputation of a gentleman, than a rich one, with the infamy of having forgotten the obligations conferred upon him, and the promiſes which he had made [b]." But all the luſtre of this candour or generoſity he quickly effaced by an action moſt ſhockingly indecent. According to an ancient and eſtabliſhed practice, every Pope upon his election claims the privilege of beſtowing, on whom he pleaſes, the Cardinal's hat, which falls to be diſpoſed of by his being inveſted with the triple crown. Julius, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſacred college, conferred this mark of diſtinction, together with ample eccleſiaſtical revenues, and the right of bearing his name and arms, upon one Innocent, a youth of ſixteen, born of obſcure parents, and known by the name of the Ape, from his having been truſted with the care of an animal of that ſpecies, in the Cardinal di Monte's family. Such a proſtitution of the higheſt dignity in the church would have given offence, even in thoſe dark periods, when the credulous ſuperſtition of the people emboldened eccleſiaſtics to venture on the moſt flagrant violations of decorum. But in an enlightened age, when by the progreſs of knowledge and philoſophy the obligations of duty and decency were better underſtood, when a blind venera-

His character and conduct.

[b] Mem. de Ribier.

tion for the Pontifical character was every where abated, and one half of Chriſtendom in open rebellion againſt the Papal See, this action was viewed with horror. Rome was immediately filled with libels and paſquinades, which imputed the Pope's extravagant regard for ſuch an unworthy object to the moſt criminal paſſions. The Proteſtants exclaimed againſt the abſurdity of ſuppoſing that the infallible ſpirit of divine truth could dwell in a breaſt ſo impure, and called more loudly, than ever, and with greater appearance of juſtice, for the immediate and thorough Reformation of a church, the Head of which was a diſgrace to the Chriſtian name[c]. The reſt of the Pope's conduct was of a piece with this firſt ſpecimen of his diſpoſitions. Having now reached the ſummit of eccleſiaſtical ambition, he ſeemed eager to indemnify himſelf, by an unreſtrained indulgence of his deſires, for the ſelf-denial or diſſimulation which he had thought it prudent to practiſe while in a ſubordinate ſtation. He became careleſs, to ſo great a degree, of all ſerious buſineſs, that he could ſeldom be brought to attend to it, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity; and giving up himſelf to amuſements and diſſipation of every kind, he imitated the luxurious elegance of Leo, rather than the ſevere virtue of Adrian, the latter of which it was neceſſary to diſplay, in contending with a ſect which derived great credit from the rigid and auſtere manners of its teachers[d].

His views and proceedings with reſpect to the general council.

THE Pope, how ready ſoever to fulfil his engagements to the family of Farneſe, diſcovered no inclination to obſerve the oath, which each Cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that if the choice ſhould fall on him, he would immediately

[c] Sleid. 492. F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 76. Thuan. lib. vi. 215.
[d] F. Paul, ibid.

call

Book X. 1550. call the council to re-aſſume its deliberations. Julius knew, by experience, how difficult it was to confine ſuch a body of men within the narrow limits which it was the intereſt of the church of Rome to preſcribe; and how eaſily the zeal of ſome members, the raſhneſs of others, or the ſuggeſtions of the Princes on whom they depended, might precipitate a popular and ungovernable aſſembly into forbidden inquiries, as well as dangerous deciſions. He wiſhed, for theſe reaſons, to have eluded the obligation of his oath, and gave an ambiguous anſwer to the firſt propoſals, which were made to him by the Emperor, with regard to that matter. But as Charles, either from his natural obſtinacy in adhering to the meaſures which he had once adopted, or from the mere pride of accompliſhing what was held to be almoſt impoſſible, perſiſted in his reſolution of forcing the Proteſtants to return into the boſom of the church: As he had perſuaded himſelf that the authoritative deciſions of the council might be employed with efficacy in combating their prejudices; and in conſequence of that perſuaſion, ſollicited earneſtly that a new bull of convocation might be iſſued, the Pope could not, with decency, reject that requeſt. When Julius found that he could not prevent the calling of a council, he endeavoured to take the merit of having procured the meeting of an aſſembly, which was the object of ſuch general deſire and expectation. A congregation of Cardinals, to whom he referred the conſideration of what was neceſſary for reſtoring peace to the church, recommended, by his direction, the ſpeedy convocation of a council, as the moſt effectual expedient for that purpoſe; and as the new hereſies raged with the greateſt violence in Germany, they propoſed Trent as the place of its meeting, that by a near inſpection of the evil, the remedy might be applied with greater diſcernment and certainty of ſucceſs. The Pope warmly approved this

advice, which he himſelf had dictated, and ſent nuncios to the Imperial and French courts, in order to make known his intentions [c].

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MEANWHILE, the Emperor had ſummoned a new diet to meet at Augſburg, in order to enforce the obſervation of the Interim, and to procure a more authentic act of the Empire, acknowledging the juriſdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promiſe of conforming to its decrees. He appeared there in perſon, together with his ſon the Prince of Spain. Few of the Electors were preſent, but all ſent deputies in their name. Charles, notwithſtanding the deſpotic authority with which he had given law in the Empire during two years, knew that the ſpirit of independance among the Germans was not entirely ſubdued, and for that reaſon took care to over-awe the diet by a conſiderable body of Spaniſh troops which eſcorted him thither. The firſt point, ſubmitted to the conſideration of the diet, was the neceſſity of holding a council. All the Popiſh members agreed, without difficulty, that the meeting of that aſſembly ſhould be renewed at Trent, and promiſed an implicit acquieſcence in its decrees. The Proteſtants, intimidated and diſunited, muſt have followed their example, and the reſolution of the diet have proved unanimous, if Maurice of Saxony had not begun at this time to diſcloſe new intentions, and to act a part very different from that which he had ſo long aſſumed.

A diet at Augſburg to enforce the Interim.

June 25.

BY an artful diſſimulation of his own ſentiments; by addreſs in paying court to the Emperor; and by the ſeeming

Maurice begins to form deſigns againſt the Emperor.

[c] F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 771.

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zeal with which he forwarded all his ambitious ſchemes, Maurice had raiſed himſelf to the Electoral dignity; and having added the dominions of the elder branch of the Saxon family to his own, was become the moſt powerful Prince in Germany. But his long and intimate union with the Emperor had afforded him many opportunities of obſerving narrowly the dangerous tendency of his ſchemes. He ſaw the yoke that was preparing for his country; and from the rapid as well as formidable progreſs of the Imperial power, was convinced that but a few ſteps more remained to be taken, in order to render Charles as abſolute a Monarch in Germany, as he had become in Spain. The more eminent the condition was to which he himſelf had been exalted, the more ſollicitous did he naturally become to maintain all its rights and privileges, and the more did he dread the thoughts of deſcending from the rank of a Prince almoſt independent, to that of a vaſſal ſubject to the will of a maſter. At the ſame time, he perceived that Charles, inſtead of allowing liberty of conſcience, the promiſe of which had allured ſeveral Proteſtant Princes to aſſiſt him in the war againſt the confederates of Smalkalde, was bent on exacting a rigid conformity to the doctrines and rites of the Romiſh church. As he, notwithſtanding all the compliances which he had made from motives of intereſt, or an exceſs of confidence in the Emperor, was ſincerely attached to the Lutheran tenets, he determined not to be a tame ſpectator of the overthrow of a ſyſtem which he believed to be founded in truth.

The political motives which influenced him.

THIS reſolution, flowing from the love of liberty, or zeal for religion, was ſtrengthened by political and intereſted conſiderations. In that elevated ſtation, in which Maurice was now placed, new and more extenſive proſpects opened to his view.

His

His rank and power entitled him to be the head of the Proteſtants in the Empire. His predeceſſor, the degraded Elector, with inferior abilities, and territories leſs conſiderable, had acquired ſuch an aſcendant over the councils of the party; and Maurice neither wanted diſcernment to ſee the advantage of this pre-eminence, nor ambition to aim at attaining it. But he found himſelf in a ſituation which rendered the attempt no leſs difficult, than the object of it was important. On the one hand, the connection which he had formed with the Emperor was ſo intimate, that he could ſcarce hope to take any ſtep which tended to diſſolve it, without alarming his jealouſy, and drawing on himſelf the whole weight of that power, which had cruſhed the greateſt confederacy ever formed in Germany. On the other hand, the calamities which he had brought on the Proteſtant party were ſo recent and ſo great, that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to regain their confidence, or to rally and re-animate a body of men, after himſelf had been the chief inſtrument in breaking their union and vigour. Theſe conſiderations were ſufficient to have diſcouraged any perſon of a ſpirit leſs adventurous than Maurice's. But to him the grandeur and vaſtneſs of the enterprize were allurements; and he boldly reſolved on meaſures, of which a genius of an inferior order could have conceived no idea, or would have trembled at the thoughts of the danger which attended the execution of them.

The paſſions which co-operated with theſe.

His paſſions concurred with his intereſt in confirming this reſolution; and the reſentment excited by an injury, which he ſenſibly felt, added new force to the motives for oppoſing the Emperor, which ſound policy ſuggeſted. Maurice, by his authority, had prevailed on the Landgrave of Heſſe to put his

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perſon in the Emperor's power, and had obtained a promiſe from the Imperial miniſters that he ſhould not be detained a priſoner. This had been violated in the manner already related. The unhappy Landgrave exclaimed as loudly againſt his ſon-in-law as againſt Charles. The Princes of Heſſe required him inceſſantly to fulfil his engagements to their father, who had loſt his liberty by truſting to him; and all Germany ſuſpected him of having betrayed, to an implacable enemy, the friend whom he was moſt bound to protect. Rouſed by theſe ſollicitations and reproaches, as well as prompted by duty and affection to his father-in-law, Maurice had employed not only entreaties but remonſtrances in order to procure his releaſe. All theſe Charles had diſregarded; and the ſhame of having been firſt deceived and then ſlighted by a Prince whom he had ſerved with zeal and ſucceſs, which merited a very different return, made ſuch a deep impreſſion on Maurice, that he waited with impatience for an opportunity of being revenged.

The caution and addreſs with which he carries on his ſchemes.

THE utmoſt caution as well as delicacy were requiſite in taking every ſtep towards this end; as he had to guard, on the one hand, againſt giving a premature alarm to the Emperor; while, on the other, ſomething conſiderable and explicit was neceſſary to be done, in order to regain the confidence of the Proteſtant party. Maurice had accordingly applied all his powers of addreſs and diſſimulation to attain both theſe points. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with regard to the ſubmiſſion which he required to the Interim, he did not heſitate one moment whether he ſhould eſtabliſh that form of doctrine and worſhip in his dominions. But being ſenſible how odious it was to his ſubjects, inſtead of violently impoſing it on them by the

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He enforces the Interim in Saxony.

the mere terror of authority, as had been done in other parts of Germany, he endeavoured to render their obedience a voluntary deed of their own. For this purpoſe, he had aſſembled the clergy of his country at Leipſick, and had laid the Interim before them, together with the reaſons which made it neceſſary to conform to it. He had gained ſome of them by promiſes, others he had wrought upon by threats, and all were intimidated by the rigour with which obedience to the Interim was extorted in the neighbouring provinces. Even Melancthon, whoſe merit of every kind entitled him to the firſt place among the Proteſtant divines, being now deprived of the manly counſels of Luther, which were wont to inſpire him with fortitude, and to preſerve him ſteady amidſt the ſtorms and dangers that threatened the church, was ſeduced into unwarrantable conceſſions, by the timidity of his temper, his fond deſire of peace, and his exceſſive complaiſance towards perſons of high rank. By his arguments and authority, no leſs than by Maurice's arts, the aſſembly was prevailed on to declare, that in points which were purely indifferent, obedience was due to the commands of a lawful ſuperior. Founding upon this maxim, no leſs uncontravertible in theory, than dangerous when carried into practice, eſpecially in religious matters, they proceeded to claſs, among the number of things indifferent, ſeveral doctrines, which Luther had pointed out as groſs and pernicious errors in the Romiſh creed, as well as many of thoſe rites which diſtinguiſhed the Reformed from the Popiſh worſhip, and by conſequence, they exhorted their people to comply with the Emperor's injunctions concerning theſe particulars [f].

[f] Sleid. 481. 485. Jo. Laur. Moſhemii Inſtitutionum Hiſt. Eccleſiaſticæ, lib. iv. Helmſt. 1755. 4to. p. 748.

By

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Makes profeſſions of zeal for the Proteſtant religion.

By this dextrous conduct, the introduction of the Interim excited none of thoſe violent convulſions in Saxony, which it occaſioned in other provinces. But though the Saxons ſubmitted, the more zealous Lutherans exclaimed againſt Melancthon and his aſſociates, as falſe brethren, who were either ſo wicked as to apoſtatize from the truth altogether; or ſo artful as to betray it by ſubtle diſtinctions; or ſo feeble-ſpirited as to give it up from puſillanimity and criminal complaiſance to a Prince, capable of ſacrificing to his political intereſt, that which he himſelf regarded as moſt ſacred. Maurice, being conſcious what a colour of probability his paſt conduct gave to theſe accuſations, as well as afraid of loſing entirely the confidence of the Proteſtants, iſſued a declaration containing profeſſions of his zealous attachment to the Reformed religion, and of his reſolution to guard againſt all the errors or encroachments of the Papal ſee [g].

At the ſame time courts the Emperor.

Having gone ſo far in order to remove the fears and jealouſies of the Proteſtants, he found it neceſſary to efface the impreſſion which ſuch a declaration might make on the Emperor. For that purpoſe, he not only renewed his profeſſions of an inviolable adherence to his alliance with him, but as the city of Magdeburg ſtill perſiſted in rejecting the Interim, he undertook to reduce it to obedience, and inſtantly ſet about levying the troops to be employed in that ſervice. This damped all the hopes which the Proteſtants begun to conceive of Maurice, in conſequence of his declaration, and left them more than ever at a loſs to gueſs at his real intentions. Their former ſuſpicion and diſtruſt of him revived, and the divines of Magdeburg filled

[g] Sleid. 485.

Germany with writings in which they repreſented him as the moſt formidable enemy of the Proteſtant religion, who treacherouſly aſſumed an appearance of zeal for its intereſt, that he might more effectually execute his ſchemes for its deſtruction.

Proteſts againſt the mode of proceeding in the council.

THIS charge, ſupported by the evidence of recent facts, as well as by his preſent dubious conduct, gained ſuch univerſal credit, that Maurice was obliged to take a vigorous ſtep in his own vindication. As ſoon as the re-aſſembling of the council at Trent was propoſed in the diet, his ambaſſadors proteſted that their maſter would not acknowledge its authority, unleſs all the points which had been already decided there were reviewed, and conſidered as entire; unleſs the Proteſtant divines had a full hearing granted them, and were allowed a deciſive voice in the council; and unleſs the Pope renounced his pretenſions to preſide in the council, engaged to ſubmit to its decrees, and abſolved the biſhops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their ſentiments with greater freedom. Theſe demands, which were higher than any that the Reformers had ventured to make, even when the zeal of their party was warmeſt, or their affairs moſt proſperous, counterbalanced, in ſome degree, the effect of Maurice's preparations againſt Magdeburg, and kept the Proteſtants in ſuſpenſe with regard to his deſigns. At the ſame time, he had addreſs enough to repreſent this part of his conduct in ſuch a light to the Emperor, that it gave him no offence, and occaſioned no interruption of the ſtrict confidence which ſubſiſted between them. What the pretexts were which he employed in order to give ſuch a bold declaration an innocent appearance, the contemporary hiſtorians have not explained; that they impoſed upon Charles is certain, for he ſtill continued

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to profecute his plan as well concerning the Interim as the council, with the ſame ardour; and to place the ſame confidence in Maurice, with regard to the execution of both.

The diet reſolve to make war on the city of Magdeburg;

THE Pope's reſolution concerning the council not being yet known at Augſburg, the chief buſineſs of the diet was to enforce the obſervation of the Interim. As the ſenate of Magdeburg, notwithſtanding various endeavours to frighten or to ſooth them into compliance, not only perſevered obſtinately in their oppoſition to the Interim, but began to ſtrengthen the fortifications of their city, and to levy troops in their own defence, Charles required of the diet that they would aſſiſt him in quelling this audacious rebellion againſt a decree of the Empire. Had the members of the diet been left to act agreeably to their own inclination, this demand would have been rejected without heſitation. All the Germans who favoured, in any degree, the new opinions in religion, and many who were influenced by no other conſideration than jealouſy of the Emperor's growing power, regarded this effort of the citizens of Magdeburg, as a noble ſtand for the liberties of their country. Even ſuch as had not reſolution to exert the ſame ſpirit, admired the gallantry of their enterprize, and wiſhed it ſucceſs. But the preſence of the Spaniſh troops, together with the dread of the Emperor's diſpleaſure, over-awed thoſe who were preſent in the diet to ſuch a degree, that without venturing to utter their own ſentiments, they tamely ratified, by their votes, whatever the Emperor was pleaſed to preſcribe. The rigorous decrees, which Charles had iſſued by his own authority againſt the Magdeburgers, were confirmed; a reſolution was taken to raiſe troops in order to beſiege the city in form; and perſons were named to fix the contingent in men

or

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or money to be furniſhed by each ſtate. At the ſame time, the diet petitioned that Maurice might be entruſted with the command of that army, to which Charles gave his conſent with great alacrity, and with high encomiums upon the wiſdom of the choice which they had made[h]. As Maurice conducted all his ſchemes with profound and impenetrable ſecrecy, it is probable that he took no ſtep avowedly in order to obtain this charge. The recommendation of his countrymen was either purely accidental, or flowed from the opinion generally entertained of his great abilities; and neither the diet had any foreſight, nor the Emperor any dread of the conſequences which followed upon this nomination. Maurice accepted without heſitation the truſt committed to him, inſtantly diſcerning the important advantages which he might derive from it.

Appoint Maurice general.

MEANWHILE, Julius, in preparing the bull for the convocation of the council, obſerved all thoſe tedious forms which the court of Rome can employ, with ſo much dexterity, to retard any diſagreeable meaſure. At laſt it was publiſhed, and the council ſummoned to meet at Trent on the firſt day of the enſuing month of May. As he knew that many of the Germans rejected or diſputed the authority and juriſdiction which the Papal ſee claims with reſpect to general councils, he took care, in the preamble of the bull, to aſſert, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his own right, not only to call and preſide in that aſſembly, but to direct its proceedings; nor would he ſoften theſe expreſſions, in any degree, notwithſtanding the repeated ſollicitations of the Emperor, who foreſaw what offence they would give, and what conſtruction might be put on them. They were cenſured, ac-

The council ſummoned to re-aſſemble at Trent.

December.

[h] Sleid. 503, 512.

BOOK X. 1551. cordingly, with great ſeverity, by ſeveral members of the diet, but whatever diſguſt or ſuſpicion they excited, ſuch abſolute direction of all their deliberations had the Emperor acquired, Feb. 13. that he procured a receſs in which the authority of the council was recognized, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which at that time afflicted the church; all the Princes and ſtates of the Empire, ſuch as had made innovations in religion, as well as thoſe who adhered to the ſyſtem of their forefathers, were required to ſend their repreſentatives to the council; the Emperor engaged to grant a ſafe conduct to ſuch as demanded it, and to ſecure them an impartial hearing in the council; he promiſed to fix his reſidence in ſome city of the Empire, in the neighbourhood of Trent, that he might protect the members of the council by his preſence, and take care that, by conducting their deliberations agreeably to ſcripture and the doctrine of the fathers, they might bring them to a deſirable iſſue. In this receſs, the obſervation of the Interim was more ſtrictly enjoined than ever, and the Emperor threatened all who had hitherto neglected or refuſed to conform to it, with the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance, if they perſiſted in their diſobedience[1].

Another fruitleſs attempt to procure the Landgrave liberty.

DURING the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made in order to procure liberty to the Landgrave. That Prince, no-wiſe reconciled by time to his ſituation, grew every day more impatient of reſtraint. Having often applied to Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg, who took every occaſion of ſolliciting the Emperor in his behalf, though without any effect, he now commanded his ſons to ſummon them, with legal formality, to perform what was contained in the bond they had granted him,

[1] Sleid. 512. Thuan. lib. vi. 233. Goldaſti Conſtit. Imperiales, vol. ii. 340.

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by ſurrendering themſelves to be treated with the ſame rigour as the Emperor had uſed him. This furniſhed them with a freſh pretext for renewing their application to the Emperor, together with an additional argument to enforce it. Charles firmly reſolved not to grant their requeſt; though at the ſame time being extremely deſirous to get rid of their inceſſant importunity, he endeavoured to prevail on the Landgrave to give up the obligation which he had received from the two Electors. But that Prince refuſing to part with a ſecurity which he deemed eſſential to his ſafety, the Emperor boldly cut the knot which he could not untie; and by a public deed annulled the bond which Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg had granted, abſolving them from all their engagements to the Landgrave. No pretenſion to a power ſo pernicious to ſociety as that of abrogating at pleaſure the moſt ſacred laws of honour, and moſt formal obligations of public faith, had hitherto been formed by any but the Roman Pontiffs, who, in conſequence of their claim of infallibility, arrogate the right of diſpenſing with precepts and duties of every kind. All Germany was filled with aſtoniſhment, when Charles aſſumed the ſame prerogative. The ſtate of ſubjection, to which the Empire was reduced, appeared to be more rigorous as well as intolerable than that of the moſt wretched and enſlaved nations, if the Emperor by an arbitrary decree might cancel thoſe ſolemn contracts, which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in ſocial union. The Landgrave himſelf now gave up all hopes of recovering his liberty by the Emperor's conſent, and endeavoured to procure it by his own addreſs. But the plan which he had formed to deceive his guards being diſcovered, ſuch of his attendants as he had gained to favour his eſcape were put to

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death, and he was confined in the citadel of Mechlin more closely than ever[k].

Charles's plan of procuring the Imperial crown for his son Philip.

ANOTHER transaction was carried on during this diet, with respect to an affair more nearly interesting to the Emperor, and which occasioned likewise a general alarm among the Princes of the Empire. Charles, though formed with talents which fitted him for conceiving and conducting great designs, was not capable, as has been often observed, of bearing extraordinary success. Its operation on his mind was so violent and intoxicatin , that it elevated him beyond what was moderate or attainable, and turned his whole attention to the pursuit of vast but chimerical objects. Such had been the effect of his victory over the confederates of Smalkalde. He did not long rest satisfied with the substantial and certain advantages which were the result of that event, but despising these, as poor or inconsiderable fruits of such great success, he had aimed at bringing all Germany to an uniformity in religion, and at rendering the Imperial power despotic. These were objects extremely splendid, it must be acknowledged, and alluring to an ambitious mind; the pursuit of them, however, was attended with manifest danger, and the attainment of them very precarious. But the steps which he had already taken towards them being accompanied with such success, his imagination, warmed with contemplating this vast design, overlooked or despised all difficulties. As he conceived the execution of his plan to be certain, he began to be sollicitous how he might render the possession of such an important acquisition perpetual in his family, by transmitting the German Empire, as well as the kingdoms of Spain, and his dominions in Italy and the

[k] Sleid. 504. Thuan. l. vi. 234, 235.

Low-

Low-Countries, to his ſon. Having long revolved this flattering idea in his mind, without communicating it, even to thoſe miniſters whom he moſt truſted, he had called Philip out of Spain, in hopes that his preſence would facilitate the carrying forward the ſcheme.

The obſtacles that ſtood in its way.

GREAT obſtacles, however, and ſuch as would have deterred any ambition leſs accuſtomed to overcome difficulties, were to be ſurmounted. He had in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty imprudently aſſiſted in procuring his brother Ferdinand the dignity of King of the Romans, and there was no probability that this Prince, who was ſtill in the prime of life, and had a ſon grown up to the years of manhood, would relinquiſh, in favour of his nephew, the near proſpect of the Imperial throne, which Charles's infirmities and declining ſtate of health opened to him. This did not deter the Emperor from venturing to make the propoſition; and when Ferdinand, notwithſtanding his profound reverence for his brother, and obſequious ſubmiſſion to his will in other inſtances, rejected it in a peremptory tone, he was not diſcouraged by one repulſe. He renewed his applications to him by his ſiſter, Mary Queen of Hungary, to whom Ferdinand ſtood indebted for the crowns both of Hungary and Bohemia, and who, by her great abilities, tempered with extreme gentleneſs of diſpoſition, had acquired an extraordinary influence over both the brothers. She entered warmly into a meaſure, which tended ſo manifeſtly to aggrandize the houſe of Auſtria; and flattering herſelf that ſhe could tempt Ferdinand to renounce the reverſionary poſſeſſion of the Imperial dignity for an immediate eſtabliſhment, ſhe aſſured him that the Emperor, by way of compenſation for his giving up his chance of ſucceſſion, would inſtantly beſtow upon him territories of very

conſiderable

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conſiderable value, and pointed out in particular thoſe of the Duke of Wurtemberg, which might be confiſcated upon different pretexts. But Ferdinand was more ambitious than to be perſuaded, by her addreſs or intreaties, to approve of a plan, which would have degraded him from the higheſt rank among the Monarchs of Europe to that of a ſubordinate and dependent Prince. He was at the ſame time, more attached to his children than to fruſtrate, by a raſh conceſſion, all the high hopes in proſpect of which they had been educated.

His endeavours to ſurmount theſe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immoveable firmneſs which Ferdinand diſcovered, the Emperor did not abandon his ſcheme. He flattered himſelf that he might attain the object in view by another channel, and that it was not impoſſible to prevail on the Electors to cancel their former choice of Ferdinand, or at leaſt to elect Philip a ſecond King of the Romans, ſubſtituting him as next in ſucceſſion to his uncle. With this view he took Philip along with him to the diet, that the Germans might have an opportunity to obſerve and become acquainted with the Prince, in behalf of whom he courted their intereſt; and he himſelf employed all the arts of addreſs or inſinuation to gain the Electors, and to prepare them for lending a favourable ear to the propoſal. But no ſooner did he venture upon mentioning it to them, than they, at once, ſaw and trembled at the conſequences with which it would be attended. They had long felt all the inconveniencies of having placed at the head of the Empire a Prince whoſe power and dominions were ſo extenſive; if they ſhould now repeat the folly, and continue the Imperial crown, like an hereditary dignity, in the ſame family, they foreſaw that they would give the ſon an opportunity of carrying on that

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that ſyſtem of oppreſſion, which the father had begun; and would put it in his power to overturn whatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fabric of the German conſtitution.

Philip's character diſagreeable to the Germans.

THE character of the Prince, in whoſe favour this extraordinary propoſition was made, rendered it ſtill leſs agreeable. Philip, though poſſeſſed with an inſatiable deſire of power, was a ſtranger to all the arts of conciliating good-will. Haughty, reſerved and ſevere, he, inſtead of gaining new friends, diſguſted the ancient and moſt devoted partizans of the Auſtrian intereſt. He ſcorned to take the trouble of acquiring the language of the country, to the government of which he aſpired; nor would he condeſcend to pay the Germans the compliment of accommodating himſelf, during his reſidence among them, to their manners and cuſtoms. He allowed the Electors and moſt illuſtrious Princes in Germany to remain in his preſence uncovered, affecting a ſtately and diſtant demeanour, which the greateſt of the German Emperors, and even Charles himſelf, amidſt the pride of power and victory, had never aſſumed[1]. On the other hand, Ferdinand, from the time of his arrival in Germany, had ſtudied to render himſelf acceptable to the people, by a conformity to their manners, which ſeemed to flow from choice; and his ſon Maximilian, who was born in Germany, poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, ſuch amiable qualities, as rendered him the darling of his countrymen, and induced them to look forward to his election as a moſt deſirable event. Their eſteem and affection for him fortified the reſolution which ſound policy had ſuggeſted; and determined the Germans to prefer the popular vir-

[1] Frediman Andreæ Zulich Diſertatio politico—Hiſtorica de Nævis politicis Caroli V. Lipſ. 1705. 4to. p. 21.

tues

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Charles obliged to relinquiſh this ſcheme.

tues of Ferdinand and his ſon, to the ſtubborn auſterity of Philip, which intereſt could not ſoften, nor ambition teach him to diſguiſe. All the Electors, the eccleſiaſtical as well as ſecular, concurred in expreſſing ſuch ſtrong diſapprobation of the meaſure, that Charles, notwithſtanding the reluctance with which he gave up any point, was obliged to drop the ſcheme as impracticable. By his unſeaſonable perſeverance in puſhing it, he not only filled the Germans with new jealouſy of his ambitious deſigns, but laid the foundation of rivalſhip and diſcord in the Auſtrian family, and forced his brother Ferdinand, in ſelf-defence, to court the Electors, particularly Maurice of Saxony, and to form ſuch connections with them, as cut off all proſpect of renewing the propoſal with ſucceſs. Philip, ſowered by his diſappointment, was ſent back to Spain, to be called thence when any new ſcheme of ambition ſhould render his preſence neceſſary[m].

The Pope and Emperor form a deſign to recover Parma and Placentia.

HAVING relinquiſhed this plan of domeſtic ambition which had long occupied and engroſſed him, Charles imagined that he would now have leiſure to turn all his attention towards his grand ſcheme of eſtabliſhing uniformity of religion in the Empire, by forcing all the contending parties to acquieſce in the deciſions of the council of Trent. But ſuch was the extent of his dominions, the variety of connections in which this entangled him, and the multiplicity of events to which theſe gave riſe, as ſeldom allowed him to apply his whole force to any one object. The machine which he had to conduct was ſo great and complicated, that an unforeſeen irregularity or obſtruction in one of the inferior wheels, often diſconcerted the motion of

[m] Sleid. 505. Thuan. 180, 238. Memoir. de Ribier, ii. 219, 281, 314. Adriani Iſtor. lib. viii. 507, 520.

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the whole, and disappointed him of the most considerable effects which he expected. Such an unlooked-for occurrence happened at this juncture, and created new obstacles to the execution of his schemes with regard to religion. Julius III. though he had confirmed Octavio Farnese in the possession of the dutchy of Parma, during the first effusions of his joy and gratitude on his promotion to the Papal throne, soon began to repent of his own generosity, and to be apprehensive of consequences which either he did not foresee, or had disregarded while the sense of his obligations to the family of Farnese was recent. The Emperor still retained Placentia in his hands, and had not relinquished his pretensions to Parma as a fief of the Empire. Gonzaga, the governor of Milan, having, by the part which he took in the murder of the late Duke Peter Ludovico, offered an insult to the family of Farnese, which he knew could never be forgiven, had for that reason vowed its destruction; and employed all the influence, which his great abilities as well as long services gave him with the Emperor, in persuading him to seize Parma by force of arms. Charles, in compliance with his sollicitations, and that he might gratify his own desire of annexing Parma to the Milanese, listened to the proposal; and Gonzaga, ready to take encouragement from the slightest appearance of approbation, began to assemble troops, and to make other preparations for the execution of his scheme.

Octavio Farnese courts the assistance of France.

OCTAVIO, who saw the impending danger, found it necessary for his own safety to increase the garrison of his capital, and to levy soldiers for defending the rest of the country. But as the expence of such an effort far exceeded his scanty revenues, he represented his situation to the Pope, and implored that protection and assistance which was due to him as a vassal of the

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church. The Imperial miniſter, however, had already preoccupied the Pope's ear; and by diſcourſing continually concerning the danger of giving offence to the Emperor, as well as the imprudence of ſupporting Octavio in an uſurpation ſo detrimental to the Holy See, had totally alienated him from the family of Farneſe. Octavio's remonſtrance and petition met, of conſequence, with a cold reception; and he, deſpairing of any aſſiſtance from Julius, began to look round for protection from ſome other quarter. Henry II. of France was the only Prince powerful enough to afford him this protection, and fortunately he was now in a ſituation which allowed him to undertake it. He had brought his tranſactions with the two Britiſh kingdoms, which had hitherto diverted his attention from the affairs of the continent, to ſuch an iſſue as he deſired. This he had effected partly by the vigour of his arms, partly by his dexterity in taking advantage of the political factions which raged in both kingdoms, and rendered the counſels of the Scots violent and precipitate, and the operations of the Engliſh feeble and unſteady. He had procured from the Engliſh favourable conditions of peace for his allies the Scots; he had prevailed on the nobles of Scotland not only to affiance their young Queen to his ſon the Dauphin, but even to ſend her into France that ſhe might be educated under his eye; and had recovered Boulogne together with its dependencies which had been conquered by Henry VIII.

His league with Henry II.

HAVING gained points of ſo much conſequence to his crown, and diſengaged himſelf with ſuch honour from the burden of ſupporting the Scots, and maintaining a war againſt England, Henry was now at full leiſure to purſue the meaſures which his hereditary jealouſy of the Emperor's power naturally ſuggeſted. He liſtened, accordingly, to the firſt overtures which Octavio

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Farneſe made him; and embracing eagerly an opportunity of recovering footing in Italy, he inſtantly concluded a treaty, in which he promiſed to eſpouſe his cauſe, and to furniſh him all the aſſiſtance which he deſired. This tranſaction could not be long kept ſecret from the Pope, who foreſeeing the calamities which muſt follow if war were rekindled ſo near the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, immediately iſſued monitory letters, requiring Octavio to relinquiſh his new alliance. Upon his refuſal to comply with the requiſition, he ſoon after pronounced his fief to be forfeited, and declared war againſt him as a diſobedient and rebellious vaſſal. But as he could not hope, with his own forces alone, to ſubdue Octavio while ſupported by ſuch a powerful ally as the King of France, he had recourſe to the Emperor, who being extremely ſollicitous to prevent the eſtabliſhment of the French in Parma, ordered Gonzaga to ſecond Julius with all his troops. Thus the French took the field as the allies of Octavio; the Imperialiſts as the protectors of the Holy See; and hoſtilities commenced between them, while Charles and Henry themſelves ſtill affected to give out that they would adhere inviolably to the peace of Creſpy. The war of Parma was not diſtinguiſhed by any memorable event. Many ſmall rencounters happened with alternate ſucceſs; the French ravaged part of the eccleſiaſtical territories; the Imperialiſts laid waſte the Parmeſan; and the latter, after having begun to beſiege Parma in form, were obliged to abandon the enterprize with diſgrace[n].

Occaſions the renewal of hoſtilities between Charles and Henry.

BUT the motions and alarm which this war, or the preparations for it, occaſioned in Italy, prevented moſt of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent on the firſt of May, the day

Retards the meeting of the council.

[n] Adriani Iſtor. lib. viii. 505, 514, 524. Sleid. 513. Paruta, p. 220. Lettere del Caro ſcritte al nome del Card. Farneſe, tom. ii. p. 11, &c.

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appointed for re-aſſembling the council; and though the Papal legate and nuncios reſorted thither, they were obliged to adjourn to the firſt of September, hoping ſuch a number might then aſſemble, that they might with decency begin their deliberations. At that time, about ſixty prelates, moſtly from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate or from Spain, together with a few Germans, convened[o]. The ſeſſion was opened with the accuſtomed formalities, and the fathers were about to proceed to buſineſs, when the abbot of Bellozane appeared, and preſenting letters of credence as ambaſſador from the French King, demanded audience. Having obtained it, he proteſted in Henry's name againſt an aſſembly called at ſuch an improper juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the Pope, made it impoſſible for the deputies from the Gallican church to reſort to Trent in ſafety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and diſcipline with the requiſite tranquillity; he declared that his maſter did not acknowledge this to be a general or oecumenick council, but muſt conſider and would treat it as a particular and partial convention[p]. The legate affected to deſpiſe this proteſt; and the prelates proceeded, notwithſtanding, to examine and decide the great points in controverſy concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, penance, and extreme unction. This meaſure of the French Monarch, however, gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the very commencement of its deliberations. The Germans could not pay much regard to an aſſembly, whoſe authority the ſecond Prince in Chriſtendom had formally diſclaimed, or feel any great reverence for the deciſions of a few men, who arrogated to themſelves all the rights belonging to the repreſentatives of the church univerſal, a title to which they had ſuch poor pretenſions.

Henry proteſts againſt the council.

[o] F. Paul. 268. [p] Sleid. 518. Thuan. 282. F. Paul. 301.

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Violence of the Emperor's proceedings againſt the Proteſtants.

THE Emperor, nevertheleſs, was ſtraining his authority to the utmoſt, in order to eſtabliſh the reputation and juriſdiction of the council. He had prevailed on the three eccleſiaſtical Electors, the prelates of greateſt power and dignity in the church next to the Pope, to repair thither in perſon. He had obliged ſeveral German biſhops of inferior rank to go to Trent themſelves, or to ſend their proxies. He granted an Imperial ſafe conduct to the ambaſſadors nominated by the Elector of Brandenburg, the duke of Wurtemberg, and other Proteſtant ſtates, to attend the council; and exhorted them to ſend their divines thither, in order to propound, explain and defend their doctrine. At the ſame time, his zeal anticipated the decrees of the council; and as if the Proteſtant doctrines had already been condemned, he took large ſteps towards exterminating them. With this intention, he called together the miniſters of Augſburg; and after interrogating them concerning ſeveral controverted points, enjoined them to teach nothing with reſpect to theſe, contrary to the tenets of the Romiſh church. Upon their declining to comply with a requiſition ſo contrary to the dictates of their conſciences, he commanded them to leave the town in three days, without revealing to any perſon the cauſe of their baniſhment; he prohibited them to preach for the future in any of the countries ſubject to the Imperial juriſdiction; and obliged them to take an oath that they would punctually obey theſe injunctions. They were not the only victims to his zeal. The Proteſtant clergy, in moſt of the cities in the circle of Swabia, were ejected with the ſame violence; and in many places, ſuch magiſtrates as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their attachment to the new opinions, were diſmiſſed with the moſt abrupt irregularity, and their offices filled, in conſequence of the Emperor's arbitrary appointment, with the moſt bigotted of their adverſa-

Book X. 1551. ries. The Reformed worſhip was almoſt entirely ſuppreſſed throughout that extenſive province. The ancient and fundamental privileges of the free cities were violated. The people were compelled to attend the miniſtration of prieſts, whom they regarded with horror as idolaters; and to ſubmit to the juriſdiction of magiſtrates, whom they deteſted as uſurpers [q].

His endeavours to ſupport the council.

November.

THE Emperor, after this diſcovery, which was more explicit than any that he had hitherto made, of his intention to ſubvert the German conſtitution, as well as to extirpate the Proteſtant religion, ſet out for Inſpruck in the Tyrol. He fixed his reſidence in that city, as by its ſituation in the neighbourhood of Trent, and on the confines of Italy, it appeared a commodious ſtation, whence he might inſpect the operations of the council, and obſerve the progreſs of the war in the Parmeſan, without loſing ſight of the occurrences that might happen in Germany [r].

The ſiege of Magdeburg.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the ſiege of Magdeburg was carried on with various ſucceſs. At the time when Charles proſcribed the citizens of Magdeburg, and put them under the ban of the Empire, he had exhorted and even enjoined all the neighbouring ſtates to take arms againſt them, as rebels and common enemies. Encouraged by his exhortations as well as promiſes, George of Mecklenburg, a younger brother of the reigning Duke, an active and ambitious Prince, collected a conſiderable number of thoſe ſoldiers of fortune who had accompanied Henry of Brunſwick in all his wild enterprizes; and though a zealous Lutheran himſelf, invaded the territories of the Magdeburgers, hoping

[q] Sleid. 516, 528. Thuan. 276. [r] Sleid. 329.

that,

that, by the merit of this ſervice, he might procure ſome part of their domains to be allotted to him as an eſtabliſhment. The citizens, unaccuſtomed as yet to endure patiently the calamities of war, could not be reſtrained from ſallying out in order to ſave their lands from being laid waſte. They attacked the duke of Mecklenburg with more courage than conduct, and were repulſed with great ſlaughter. But as they were animated with that unconquerable ſpirit, which flows from zeal for religion co-operating with the love of civil liberty, far from being diſheartened by their misfortune, they prepared to defend themſelves with vigour. Many of the veteran ſoldiers who had ſerved in the long wars between the Emperor and King of France, crowding to their ſtandards under able and experienced officers, they acquired military ſkill by degrees, and added all the advantages of that to the efforts of undaunted courage. The duke of Mecklenburg, notwithſtanding the ſevere blow which he had given the Magdeburgers, not daring to inveſt a town ſtrongly fortified, and defended by ſuch a garriſon, continued to ravage the open country.

Maurice takes the command of the army which carried on the ſiege.

As the hopes of booty drew many adventurers to his camp, Maurice of Saxony began to be jealous of the power which he poſſeſſed by being at the head of ſuch a numerous body, and marching towards Magdeburg with his own troops, aſſumed the ſupreme command of the whole army, an honour to which his high rank and great abilities, as well as the nomination of the diet, gave him an indiſputable title. With this united force he inveſted the town, and began the ſiege in form; claiming great merit with the Emperor on that account, as, from his zeal to execute the Imperial decree, he was expoſing himſelf once more to the cenſures and maledictions of the party with which he agreed

in

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in religious ſentiments. But the approaches to the town went on ſlowly; the garriſon interrupted the beſiegers by frequent ſallies, in one of which the duke of Mecklenburgh was taken priſoner, levelled part of their works, and cut off the ſoldiers in their advanced poſts. While the citizens of Magdeburg, animated by the diſcourſes of their paſtors, and the ſoldiers encouraged by the example of their officers, endured all the hardſhips of a ſiege without murmuring, and defended themſelves with the ſame ardour which they had at firſt diſcovered; the troops of the beſiegers acted with extreme remiſſneſs, repining at every thing they ſuffered in a ſervice which they diſliked. They broke out, more than once, into open mutiny, demanding the arrears of their pay, which, as the Germans contributed with great reluctance towards defraying the expences of this war, amounted to a conſiderable ſum *. Maurice, too, had particular motives, though ſuch as he durſt not avow at that juncture, which induced him not to puſh the ſiege with vigour, and made him chuſe rather to continue at the head of an army expoſed to all the imputations which his dilatory proceedings drew upon him, than to precipitate a conqueſt which might have brought him ſome acceſſion of reputation, but would have rendered it neceſſary to diſband his forces.

The city ſurrenders to Maurice.

At laſt, the inhabitants of the town beginning to ſuffer diſtreſs from want of proviſions, and Maurice, finding it impoſſible to protract matters any longer without filling the Emperor with ſuch ſuſpicions as might have diſconcerted all his meaſures, he concluded a treaty of capitulation with the city upon the follow-

* Thuan. 277. Sleid. 514.

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ing conditions; that the Magdeburgers ſhould humbly implore pardon of the Emperor; that they ſhould not for the future take arms, or enter into any alliance againſt the houſe of Auſtria; that they ſhould ſubmit to the authority of the Imperial chamber; that they ſhould conform to the decree of the diet at Augſburg with reſpect to religion; that the new fortifications added to the town ſhould be demoliſhed; that they ſhould pay a fine of fifty thouſand crowns, deliver up twelve pieces of ordnance to the Emperor, and ſet the Duke of Mecklenburg together with their other priſoners at liberty without ranſom. Next day their garriſon marched out, and Maurice took poſſeſſion of the town with great military pomp. BOOK X. 1551. Novemb. 3.

BEFORE the terms of capitulation were ſettled, Maurice had held many conferences with Albert count Mansfeldt, who had the chief command in Magdeburg, and with count Heideck, an officer who had ſerved with great reputation in the army of the league of Smalkalde, whom the Emperor had proſcribed on account of his zeal for that cauſe, and whom Maurice had, notwithſtanding, ſecretly engaged in his ſervice, and admitted into the moſt intimate confidence. To them he communicated a ſcheme, which he had long revolved in his mind, for procuring liberty to to his father-in-law the Landgrave, for vindicating the privileges of the Germanic body, and ſetting bounds to the dangerous encroachments of the Imperial power. Having conſulted with them about the meaſures which might be neceſſary for ſecuring the ſucceſs of ſuch an arduous enterprize, he gave Mansfeldt ſecret aſſurances that the fortifications of Magdeburg ſhould not be deſtroyed, and that the inhabitants ſhould neither be diſturbed in the exerciſe of their religion, nor be deprived of any of their antient immunities. In order to engage Maurice more thoroughly Maurice's views at this juncture.

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from conſiderations of intereſt to fulfil theſe engagements, the ſenate of Magdeburg elected him their Burgrave, a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral houſe of Saxony, and which entitled him to a very ample juriſdiction not only in the city but in its dependencies [t].

The advantages he derived from his negociations with the Magdeburgers.

THUS the citizens of Magdeburg, after enduring a ſiege of twelve months, and ſtruggling for their liberties religious and civil with an invincible fortitude worthy of the cauſe in which it was exerted, had at laſt the good fortune to conclude a treaty which left them in a better condition than the reſt of their countrymen, whom their timidity or want of publick ſpirit had betrayed into ſuch mean ſubmiſſions to the Emperor. But while a great part of Germany applauded the gallant conduct of the Magdeburgers, and rejoiced in their having eſcaped the deſtruction with which they had been threatened, all admired Maurice's addreſs in the conduct of his negociation with them, as well as the dexterity with which he converted every event to his own advantage. They ſaw, with amazement, that after having afflicted the Magdeburgers during many months with all the calamities of war, he was at laſt, by their voluntary election, veſted with ſupreme authority in that city which he had ſo lately beſieged; that after having been ſo long the object of their invectives and ſatire as an apoſtate, and an enemy to the religion which he profeſſed; they ſeemed now to place unbounded confidence in his zeal and good will [u]. At the ſame time, the publick articles in the treaty of capitulation were ſo

[t] Sleid. 528. Thuan. 276. Obſidionis Magdeburgici deſcriptio per Sebaſt. Beſſelmeierum. ap. Scard. ii. 518.

[u] Arnoldi vita Maurit. apud Menken, ii. 1227.

perfectly

perfectly conformable to thoſe which the Emperor had granted to the other Proteſtant cities, and Maurice took ſuch care to magnify his merit in having reduced a place which had defended itſelf with ſo much obſtinacy, that Charles, far from ſuſpecting any thing fraudulent or colluſive in the terms of accommodation, ratified them without heſitation, and abſolved the Magdeburgers from the ſentence of ban which had been denounced againſt them. Book X. 1551.

THE only point that now remained to embarraſs Maurice was how to keep together the veteran troops which had ſerved under him, as well as thoſe which had been employed in the defence of the town. For this, too, he found an expedient with ſingular art and felicity. His ſchemes againſt the Emperor were not yet ſo fully ripened, that he durſt venture to diſcloſe them, and proceed openly to carry them into execution. The winter, was approaching which made it impoſſible to take the field immediately. He was afraid that it would give a premature alarm to the Emperor, if he ſhould retain ſuch a conſiderable body in his pay until the ſeaſon of action returned in the ſpring. As ſoon then as Magdeburg opened its gates, he ſent home his Saxon ſubjects, whom he could command to take arms and re-aſſemble on the ſhorteſt warning, to their own habitations; and at the ſame time, paying part of the arrears due to the mercenary troops, who had followed his ſtandard, as well as to the ſoldiers who had ſerved in the garriſon, he abſolved them from their reſpective oaths of fidelity, and diſbanded them. But the moment he gave them their diſcharge, George Duke of Mecklenburg, who was now ſet at liberty, offered to take them into his ſervice, and to become ſurety for

His expedient for keeping an army on foot.

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the payment of what was ſtill owing to them. As ſuch adventurers were accuſtomed often to change maſters, they inſtantly accepted the offer. Thus, theſe troops were kept united, and ready to march wherever Maurice ſhould call them, while the Emperor, deceived by this artifice, and imagining that the Duke of Mecklenburg had hired them with an intention to aſſert, by force of arms, his claim to a part of his brother's territories, ſuffered it to paſs without obſervation, as if it had been a matter of no conſequence [x].

His addreſs in concealing his intentions from the Emperor.

HAVING ventured to take theſe ſteps which were of ſo much conſequence towards the execution of his ſchemes, Maurice, that he might divert the Emperor from obſerving their tendency too narrowly, and prevent the ſuſpicions which that muſt have excited, ſaw the neceſſity of employing ſome new artifice in order to engage his attention, and to confirm him in his preſent ſecurity. As he knew that the chief object of the Emperor's ſollicitude at this juncture, was how he might prevail with the Proteſtant States of Germany to recognize the authority of the council of Trent, and to ſend thither ambaſſadors in their own name, as well as deputies from their reſpective churches, he took hold of this predominating paſſion in order to amuſe and to deceive him. He affected a wonderful zeal to gratify Charles in what he deſired with regard to this matter; he nominated ambaſſadors, whom he impowered to attend the council; he made choice of Melanchthon and ſome of the moſt eminent among his brethren to prepare a confeſſion of faith, and to lay

[x] Thuan. 278. Struv. corp. hiſt. Germ. 1064. Arnoldi vita Mauritii apud Menken, ii. 1227.

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it before that aſſembly. After his example, and probably in conſequence of his ſollicitations, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the city of Straſburg, and other Proteſtant States appointed ambaſſadors and divines to attend the council. They all applied to the Emperor for his ſafe-conduct, which they obtained in the moſt ample form. This was deemed ſufficient for the ſecurity of the ambaſſadors, and they proceeded accordingly on their journey; but a ſeparate ſafe-conduct from the council itſelf, was demanded for the Proteſtant divines. The fate of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, whom the council of Conſtance, in the preceding century, had condemned to the flames without regarding the Imperial ſafe-conduct which had been granted them, rendered this precaution prudent and neceſſary. But as the Pope was no leſs unwilling that the Proteſtants ſhould be admitted to an hearing in the council, than the Emperor had been eager in bringing them to demand it, the legate by promiſes and threats prevailed on the fathers of the council to decline iſſuing a ſafe-conduct in the ſame form with that which the council of Baſil had granted to the followers of Huſs. The Proteſtants, on their part inſiſted upon the council's copying the preciſe words of that inſtrument. The Imperial ambaſſadors interpoſed in order to obtain what would ſatisfy them. Alterations in the form of the writ were propoſed; expedients were ſuggeſted; proteſts and counter proteſts were taken; the legate together with his aſſociates laboured to gain their point by artifice and chicane; the Proteſtants adhered to theirs with firmneſs and obſtinacy. An account of every thing that paſſed in Trent was tranſmitted to the Emperor at Inſpruck, who, attempting from an exceſs of zeal, or of confidence in his own addreſs, to reconcile the contending parties, was involved in a labyrinth of in-

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BOOK X. 1551. extricable negociations. By means of this, however, Maurice gained all that he had in view; the Emperor's time was wholly engroſſed, and his attention diverted; while he had leiſure to mature his ſchemes, to carry on his intrigues, and to finiſh his preparations before he threw off the maſk, and ſtruck the blow which he had ſo long meditated [z].

The affairs of Hungary.

BUT previous to the hiſtory of Maurice's operations, ſome account muſt be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little towards their producing ſuch extraordinary effects. When Solyman, in the year 1541, by a ſtratagem, which ſuited the baſe and inſidious policy of a petty uſurper, rather than the magnanimity of a mighty conqueror, deprived the young King of Hungary of the dominions which his father had left him, he had granted that unfortunate Prince the country of Tranſylvania, a province of his paternal kingdom. The government of this, together with the care of educating the young King, for he ſtill allowed him to retain that title, though he had rendered it only an empty name, he committed to the Queen and Martinuzzi biſhop of Waradin, whom the late King had appointed his ſons guardians and regents of his dominions, at a time when thoſe offices were of greater importance. This co-ordinate juriſdiction occaſioned the ſame diſſentions in a ſmall principality as it would have excited in a great kingdom; an ambitious young Queen, conſcious of her capacity for governing, and an high ſpirited prelate, contending who ſhould engroſs the greateſt ſhare in the adminiſtration. Each had their partizans among the nobles, but as Martinuzzi, by his great

[z] Sleid. 526, 529. F. Paul. 323, 338. Thuan. 286.

talents,

talents, began to acquire the aſcendant, Iſabella turned his own arts againſt him, and courted the protection of the Turks. 1551.

THE neighbouring baſhas, jealous of the biſhop's power as well as abilities, readily promiſed her the aid which ſhe demanded, and would ſoon have obliged Martinuzzi to have given up to her the ſole direction of affairs, if his ambition, fertile in expedients, had not ſuggeſted to him a new meaſure, and one that tended not only to preſerve but to enlarge his authority. Having concluded an agreement with the Queen, by the mediation of ſome of the nobles who were ſollicitous to ſave their country from the calamities of a civil war, he ſecretly diſpatched one of his confidents to Vienna, and entered into a negociation with Ferdinand. As it was no difficult matter to perſuade Ferdinand that the ſame man whoſe enmity and intrigues had driven him out of a great part of his Hungarian dominions, might, upon a reconciliation, become equally inſtrumental in recovering them, he liſtened eagerly to the firſt overtures of an union with that prelate. Martinuzzi allured him by ſuch proſpects of advantage, and engaged, with ſo much confidence, that he would prevail on the moſt powerful of the Hungarian nobles to take arms in his favour, that Ferdinand, notwithſtanding his truce with Solyman, agreed to invade Tranſylvania. The command of the troops deſtined for that ſervice, conſiſting of veteran Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, was given to Caſtaldo Marquis de Piadena, an officer formed by the famous Marquis de Peſcara, whom he ſtrongly reſembled both in his enterprizing genius for civil buſineſs, and in his great knowledge in the art of war. This army, more formidable by the diſcipline of the ſoldiers, and the abilities of the general, than by its numbers, was

Martinuzzi favours Ferdinand's pretenſions in that kingdom.

BOOK X. 1551. was powerfully ſeconded by Martinuzzi and his faction among the Hungarians. As the Turkiſh Baſhas, the Sultan himſelf being at the head of his army on the frontiers of Perſia, could not afford the Queen ſuch immediate or effectual aſſiſtance as the exigency of her affairs required, ſhe quickly loſt all hopes of being able to retain any longer the authority which ſhe poſſeſſed as regent, and even began to deſpair of her ſon's ſafety.

The ſucceſs of his meaſures.

MARTINUZZI did not ſuffer this favourable opportunity of accompliſhing his own deſigns to paſs unimproved, and ventured, while ſhe was in this ſtate of dejection, to lay before her a propoſal, which at any other time, ſhe would have rejected with diſdain. He repreſented how impoſſible it was for her to reſiſt Ferdinand's victorious arms; that even if the Turks ſhould enable her to make head againſt them, ſhe would be far from changing her condition to the better, and could not conſider them as deliverers but as maſters to whoſe commands ſhe muſt ſubmit; he conjured her, therefore, as ſhe regarded her own dignity, the ſafety of her ſon, or the ſecurity of Chriſtendom, rather to give up Tranſylvania to Ferdinand, and to make over to him her ſon's title to the crown of Hungary, than to allow both to be uſurped by the inveterate enemy of the Chriſtian faith. At the ſame time, he promiſed her, in Ferdinand's name, a compenſation for herſelf, as well as for her ſon, ſuitable to their rank, and proportional to the value of what they were to ſacrifice. Iſabella, deſerted by ſome of her adherents, truſting others, deſtitute of friends, and ſurrounded by Caſtaldo's and Martinuzzi's troops, ſubſcribed, though with a reluctant hand, theſe hard conditions. Upon this, ſhe ſurren-

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dered ſuch places of ſtrength as were ſtill in her poſſeſſion, ſhe gave up all the enſigns of royalty, particularly a crown of gold, which, as the Hungarians believed, had deſcended from heaven, and conferred on him who wore it an undoubted right to the throne. As ſhe could not bear to remain a private perſon, in a country where ſhe had once enjoyed ſovereign power, ſhe inſtantly ſet out with her ſon for Sileſia, in order to take poſſeſſion of the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor, the inveſtiture of which Ferdinand had engaged to grant her ſon, and likewiſe to beſtow one of his daughters upon him in marriage. BOOK X. 1551.

UPON the reſignation of the young King, Martinuzzi, and after his example the reſt of the Tranſylvanian grandees, ſwore allegiance to Ferdinand; who, in order to teſtify his grateful ſenſe of the zeal as well as ſucceſs with which that prelate had ſerved him, affected to diſtinguiſh him by every poſſible mark of favour and confidence. He appointed him governor of Tranſylvania, with almoſt unlimited authority; he ordered Caſtaldo to pay the greateſt deference to his opinion and commands; he encreaſed his revenues, which were already very great, by new appointments; he nominated him archbiſhop of Gran, and prevailed on the Pope to raiſe him to the dignity of a Cardinal. All this oſtentation of good-will, however, was void of ſincerity, and calculated to conceal ſentiments the moſt perfectly its reverſe. Ferdinand dreaded Martinuzzi's abilities; diſtruſted his fidelity; and foreſaw, that as his extenſive authority enabled him to check any attempt towards circumſcribing or aboliſhing the extenſive privileges which the Hungarian nobles poſſeſſed, he would ſtand forth, on every occaſion, the guardian of the liber- Appointed governor of that part of Hungary which was ſubject to Ferdinand.

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ties of his country, rather than act the part of a viceroy devoted to the will of his ſovereign.

Ferdinand begins to form deſigns againſt him.

FOR this reaſon, he ſecretly gave it in charge to Caſtaldo, to watch his motions, to guard againſt his deſigns, and to thwart his meaſures. But Martinuzzi, either becauſe he did not perceive that Caſtaldo was placed as a ſpy on his actions, or becauſe he deſpiſed Ferdinand's inſidious arts, aſſumed the direction of the war againſt the Turks with his uſual tone of authority, and conducted it with great magnanimity, and no leſs ſucceſs. He recovered ſome places of which the Infidels had taken poſſeſſion; he rendered their attempts to reduce others abortive; and eſtabliſhed Ferdinand's authority not only in Tranſylvania, but in the Bannat of Temeſwar, and ſeveral of the countries adjacent. In carrying on theſe operations, he often differed in ſentiments from Caſtaldo and his officers, and treated the Turkiſh priſoners with a degree of humanity, and even of generoſity, which Caſtaldo loudly condemned. This was repreſented at Vienna as an artful method of courting the friendſhip of the Infidels, that, by ſecuring their protection, he might ſhake off all dependence upon the ſovereign whom he now acknowledged. Though Martinuzzi, in juſtification of his own conduct, contended that it was impolitic to exaſperate, by unneceſſary ſeverities, an enemy prone to revenge, Caſtaldo's accuſations gained credit with Ferdinand, prepoſſeſſed already againſt Martinuzzi, and jealous of every thing that could endanger his authority in Hungary, in proportion as he knew it to be precarious and ill eſtabliſhed. Theſe ſuſpicions, Caſtaldo confirmed and ſtrengthened, by the intelligence which he tranſmitted continually to his confidents at Vienna. By miſrepreſenting what was innocent, and putting the worſt conſtruction on what ſeemed dubious in Martinuzzi's

nuzzi's conduct; by imputing to him deſigns which he never formed, and charging him with actions of which he was not guilty; he at laſt convinced Ferdinand, that, in order to preſerve his Hungarian crown, he muſt cut off that ambitious prelate. But Ferdinand, foreſeeing that it would be dangerous to proceed in the regular courſe of law againſt a ſubject of ſuch exorbitant power, as enabled him to ſet his ſovereign at defiance, determined to employ violence in order to obtain that ſatisfaction, which the laws were too feeble to afford him.

He is aſſaſſinated by his command.

He iſſued his orders accordingly to Caſtaldo, who willingly undertook that infamous ſervice. Having communicated the deſign to ſome Italian and Spaniſh officers whom he could truſt, and concerted with them the plan of executing it; they entered Martinuzzi's apartment, early one morning, under pretence of preſenting to him ſome diſpatches which were to be ſent off immediately to Vienna; and while he peruſed a paper with attention, one of their number ſtruck him with his poinard in the throat. The blow was not mortal; Martinuzzi ſtarted up with the intrepidity natural to him, and grappling the aſſaſſin, threw him to the ground; but the other conſpirators ruſhing in, an old man, unarmed, and alone, could not long ſuſtain ſuch an unequal conflict, but ſunk under the wounds which he received from ſo many hands. Their dread of the foreign troops reſtrained the Tranſylvanians from riſing in arms, in order to take vengeance on the murderers of a prelate who had long been the object of their love as well as veneration. They ſpoke of the deed, however, with horror and execration; and exclaimed againſt Ferdinand, whom neither gratitude for recent and important ſervices, nor reverence for a character conſidered as ſacred and inviolable among Chriſtians, could reſtrain from ſhedding the

Dec. 18.

The effect of that violent action.

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blood of a man, whoſe only crime was attachment to his native country. The nobles, deteſting the jealous as well as cruel policy of a court, which, upon uncertain and improbable ſurmiſes, had given up a perſon no leſs conſpicuous for his merit than his rank, to be butchered by aſſaſſins, either retired to their own eſtates, or if they continued with the Auſtrian army, grew cold to the ſervice. The Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whoſe abilities they knew and dreaded, prepared to renew hoſtilities early in the ſpring; and inſtead of the ſecurity which Ferdinand had expected from the removal of Martinuzzi, it was evident that his territories in Hungary were about to be attacked with greater vigour, and defended with leſs zeal than ever[a].

Maurice courts the protection of the French King.

MEANWHILE, Maurice having almoſt finiſhed his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of declaring his intentions openly, and of taking the field againſt the Emperor. His firſt care, after he came to this reſolution, was to diſclaim that narrow and bigotted maxim of the confederates of Smalkalde, which had led them to ſhun all connection with foreigners. He had obſerved how fatal this had been to their cauſe; and inſtructed by their error, he was as eager to court the protection of Henry II. as they had been ſollicitous to prevent the interpoſition of Francis I. Happily for him, he found Henry in a diſpoſition to liſten to the firſt overture on his part, and in a ſituation which enabled him to bring the whole force of the French monarchy into action. Henry had long obſerved the progreſs of the

[a] Sleid. 535. Thuan. lib. ix. 309, &c. Iſtuanhaffi Hiſt. Regn. Hungarici lib. xvi. 189, &c. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 871. Natalis Comitis Hiſtoria lib. iv. 84, &c.

Emperor's

Emperor's arms with jealouſy, and wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf by trying his ſtrength againſt the ſame enemy, whom it had been the glory of his father's reign to oppoſe. He had laid hold on the firſt opportunity in his power of thwarting the Emperor's deſigns, by taking the Duke of Parma under his protection; and hoſtilities were already begun, not only in that dutchy but in Piedmont. Having terminated the war with England by a peace, no leſs advantageous to himſelf than honourable for his allies the Scots, the reſtleſs and enterprizing courage of his nobles was impatient to diſplay itſelf on ſome theatre of action more conſpicuous than the petty operations in Parma or Piedmont afforded them. BOOK X. 1551.

JOHN DE FIESSE, biſhop of Bayonne, whom Henry had ſent into Germany, under pretence of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was empowered to conclude a treaty in form with Maurice and his aſſociates. As it would have been very indecent in a King of France to have undertaken the defence of the Proteſtant church, the intereſts of religion, how much ſoever they might be affected by the treaty, were not once mentioned in any of the articles. Religious concerns they pretended to commit entirely to the diſpoſition of divine providence; the only motives aſſigned for their preſent confederacy againſt Charles were to procure the Landgrave liberty, and to prevent the ſubverſion of the ancient conſtitution and laws of the German Empire. In order to accompliſh theſe ends, it was agreed, that all the contracting parties ſhould, at the ſame time, declare war againſt the Emperor; that neither peace nor truce ſhould be made but by common conſent, nor without including each of the confederates; that, in order to guard againſt the incon- His treaty with him.

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inconveniencies of anarchy, or of pretenſions to joint command, Maurice ſhould be acknowledged as head of the German confederates, with abſolute authority in all military affairs; that Maurice and his aſſociates ſhould bring into the field ſeven thouſand horſe, with a proportional number of infantry; that towards the ſubſiſtence of this army, during the three firſt months of the war, Henry ſhould contribute two hundred and forty thouſand crowns, and afterwards ſixty thouſand crowns a month, as long as they continued in arms; that Henry ſhould attack the Emperor on the ſide of Lorrain with a powerful army; that if it were found requiſite to elect a new Emperor, ſuch a perſon ſhould be nominated as ſhall be agreeable to the King of France [b]. This treaty was concluded on the fifth of October, ſome time before Magdeburg ſurrendered, and the preparatory negociations were conducted with ſuch profound ſecrecy, that of all the Princes who afterwards acceded to it, Maurice communicated what he was carrying on to two only, John Albert, the reigning duke of Mecklenburg, and William of Heſſe, the Landgrave's eldeſt ſon. The league itſelf was no leſs anxiouſly concealed, and with ſuch fortunate care, that no rumour concerning it reached the ears of the Emperor or his miniſters, nor do they ſeem to have conceived the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of ſuch a tranſaction.

Solicits the aid of Edward VI. of England.

At the ſame time Maurice, with a ſollicitude which was careful to draw ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from every quarter, applied to Edward VI. of England, and requeſted a ſubſidy of four hundred thouſand crowns for the ſupport of

[b] Recueil des Traitez, tom. ii. 258. Thuan. lib. viii. 279.

a con-

1551.

a confederacy formed in defence of the Proteſtant religion. But the factions which prevailed in the Engliſh court during the minority of that Prince, and which deprived both the councils and arms of the nation of their wonted vigour, left the Engliſh miniſters neither time nor inclination to attend to foreign affairs, and prevented Maurice's obtaining that aid, which their zeal for the Reformation would have prompted them to grant him [c].

Demands once more that the Landgrave ſhould be ſet at liberty.

MAURICE, however, having ſecured the protection of ſuch a powerful Monarch as Henry II. proceeded with great confidence, but with equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it neceſſary to make one effort more, in order to obtain the Emperor's conſent that the Landgrave ſhould be ſet at liberty, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy, in his own name, and in that of the Elector of Brandenburg, to Inſpruck. After reſuming, at great length, all the facts and arguments upon which they founded their claim, and repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the peculiar engagements which bound them to be ſo aſſiduous in their ſollicitations, they renewed the requeſt in behalf of the unfortunate priſoner, which they had ſo often preferred in vain. The Elector Palatine, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, the Duke of Deuxponts, the Marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and the Marquis of Baden, by their ambaſſadors, concurred with them in their ſuit. Letters were likewiſe delivered to the ſame effect from the King of Denmark, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Dukes of Lunenburg. Even the King of the Romans, moved with compaſſion towards the Landgrave in

Decembe:.

[c] Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. vol. ii, Append. 37.

his

BOOK X. 1551. his wretched ſituation, or influenced, perhaps, by a ſecret jealouſy of his brother's power and deſigns, which ſince his attempt to alter the order of ſucceſſion in the Empire, he had come to view with other eyes, and dreaded to a great degree, joined in this application.

BUT Charles, conſtant to his own ſyſtem, with regard to the Landgrave, eluded a demand urged by ſuch powerful interceſſors; and having declared that he would communicate his reſolution concerning the matter to Maurice as ſoon as he arrived at Inſpruck, where he was every day expected, he did not deign to deſcend into any more particular explication of his intentions[d]. This application, though of no benefit to the Landgrave, was of great advantage to Maurice. It ſerved to juſtify his ſubſequent proceedings, and to demonſtrate the neceſſity of employing arms in order to extort that equitable conceſſion, which his mediation or intreaty could not obtain. It was of uſe, too, to confirm the Emperor in his ſecurity, as both the ſolemnity of the application, and the ſollicitude with which ſo many Princes were drawn in to enforce it, led him to conclude, that Maurice placed all his hopes of reſtoring the Landgrave to liberty, in gaining his conſent to diſmiſs him.

1552. Maurice continues to amuſe the Emperor.

MAURICE employed artifices ſtill more refined to conceal his machinations, to amuſe the Emperor and to gain time. He affected to be more ſollicitous than ever to find out ſome expedient for removing the difficulties with regard to the ſafe-conduct for the Proteſtant divines appointed to attend the council,

[d] Sleid. 531. Thuan. lib. viii. 280.

aid ſo

ſo that they might repair thither with ſafety. His ambaſſadors at Trent had frequent conferences concerning this matter, with the Imperial ambaſſadors in that city, and laid open their ſentiments to them with the appearance of the moſt unreſerved confidence. He was willing, at laſt, to have it believed, that he thought all differences with reſpect to this preliminary article were on the point of being adjuſted; and in order to give credit to this opinion, he commanded Melancthon together with his brethren to ſet out on their journey to Trent. At the ſame time, he held a cloſe correſpondence with the Imperial court at Inſpruck, and renewed on every occaſion his profeſſions of fidelity and attachment to the Emperor. He talked continually of his intention of going to Inſpruck in perſon; he ordered a houſe to be hired for him in that city, and to be fitted up with the greateſt diſpatch for his reception [o].

The Emperor conceives ſome ſuſpicion concerning his intentions.

BUT, profoundly ſkilled as Maurice was in the arts of deceit, and impenetrable as he thought the veil to be under which he concealed his deſigns, there were ſeveral things in his conduct which alarmed the Emperor amidſt his ſecurity, and tempted him frequently to ſuſpect that he was meditating ſomething extraordinary. As theſe ſuſpicions took their riſe from circumſtances inconſiderable in themſelves, or of an ambiguous as well as uncertain nature, they were more than counterbalanced by Maurice's addreſs; and the Emperor would not, lightly, give up his confidence in a man, whom he had once truſted and loaded with favours. One particular alone ſeemed to be of ſuch conſequence, that he thought it neceſſary to demand an explanation with regard to it. The troops, which George of Mecklenburg had

[o] Arnoldi vita Maurit. ap. Menken, ii. 1229.

BOOK X. 1552.

taken into pay after the capitulation of Magdeburg, having fixed their quarters in Thuringia, lived at diſcretion on the lands of the rich eccleſiaſtics in their neighbourhood. Their licence and rapaciouſneſs were intolerable. Such as felt or dreaded their exactions, complained loudly to the Emperor, and repreſented them as a body of men kept in readineſs for ſome deſperate enterprize. But Maurice, partly by extenuating the enormities of which they had been guilty, partly by repreſenting the impoſſibility of diſbanding theſe troops, or of keeping them to regular diſcipline, unleſs the arrears ſtill due to them by the Emperor were paid, either removed the apprehenſions which this had occaſioned, or as Charles was not in a condition to ſatisfy the demands of theſe ſoldiers, obliged him to be ſilent with regard to the matter[f].

Maurice prepares for action.

THE time of action was now approaching. Maurice had privately diſpatched Albert of Brandenburg to Paris, in order to confirm his league with Henry, and to haſten the march of the French army. He had taken meaſures to bring his own ſubjects together on the firſt ſummons; he had provided for the ſecurity of Saxony while he ſhould be abſent with the army; and he held the troops in Thuringia, on which he chiefly depended, ready to advance on a moment's warning. All theſe complicated operations were carried on without being diſcovered by the court at Inſpruck, and the Emperor remained there in perfect tranquillity, buſied entirely in counteracting the intrigues of the Pope's legate at Trent, and in ſettling the conditions on which the Proteſtant divines ſhould be admitted into the council, as if there had not been any tranſaction of greater moment in agitation.

[f] Sleid. 549. Thuan. 339.

THIS

THIS credulous ſecurity in a Prince, whoſe ſagacity in obſerving the conduct of all around him, commonly led him to an exceſs of diſtruſt, may ſeem unaccountable, and has been imputed to infatuation. But beſides the exquiſite addreſs with which Maurice concealed his intentions, two circumſtances contributed to the deluſion. The gout returned upon Charles ſoon after his arrival at Inſpruck, with an encreaſe of violence; and his conſtitution being broken by ſuch frequent attacks, he was ſeldom able to exert his natural vigour of mind, or to conſider affairs with his uſual vigilance and penetration; and Granvelle, biſhop of Arras, his prime miniſter, though one of the moſt ſubtle ſtateſmen of that, or perhaps of any age, was on this occaſion the dupe of his own craft. He entertained ſuch an high opinion of his own abilities, and held the political talents of the Germans in ſuch contempt, that he deſpiſed all the intimations given him concerning Maurice's ſecret machinations, or the dangerous deſigns which he was carrying on. When the Duke of Alva, whoſe dark ſuſpicious mind harboured many doubts concerning the Elector's ſincerity, propoſed calling him immediately to court to anſwer for his conduct, he replied with great ſcorn, that theſe apprehenſions were groundleſs, and that a drunken German head was too groſs to form any ſcheme which he could not eaſily penetrate and baffle. Nor did he aſſume this peremptory tone merely from confidence in his own diſcernment; he had bribed two of Maurice's miniſters, and received from them frequent and minute information concerning all their maſter's motions. But through this very channel, by which he expected to gain acceſs to all Maurice's counſels, and even to his thoughts, ſuch intelligence was conveyed to him as compleated his deception. Maurice fortunately diſcovered

Circumſtances which contributed to deceive the Emperor, and his miniſters.

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the correſpondence of the two traitors with Granvelle, and inſtead of puniſhing them for their crime, he dexterouſly availed himſelf of their fraud, and turned his own arts againſt the biſhop. He affected to treat theſe miniſters with greater confidence than ever; he admitted them to his conſultations, and ſeemed to lay open his heart to them; and taking care all the while to let them be acquainted with nothing but what it was his intereſt ſhould be known, they tranſmitted to Inſpruck ſuch accounts as poſſeſſed Granvelle with a firm belief of his ſincerity and good intentions[a]. The Emperor himſelf, in the fulneſs of ſecurity, was ſo little moved by a memorial, in name of the eccleſiaſtical Electors, admoniſhing him to be on his guard againſt Maurice, that he made light of this intelligence; and his anſwer to them abounds with declarations of his entire and confident reliance on the fidelity as well as attachment of that Prince[b].

Maurice takes the field againſt the Emperor.

AT laſt Maurice's preparations were compleated, and he had the ſatisfaction to find that his intrigues and deſigns were ſtill unknown. But, though now ready to take the field, he did not lay aſide the arts which he had hitherto employed; and by one piece of craft more, he deceived his enemies a few days longer. He gave out, that he was about to begin that journey to Inſpruck of which he had ſo often talked, and he took one of the miniſters whom Granvelle had bribed to attend him thither. After travelling poſt a few ſtages, he pretended to be indiſpoſed by the fatigue of the journey, and diſpatching the ſuſpected miniſter to make his apology to the Emperor for this delay, and to aſſure him that he would be at Inſpruck within a few days; as ſoon as this ſpy on his actions was gone, he mounted on horſeback, rode full ſpeed towards Thuringia, joined his army which

March 18.

[a] Melvil. Memoirs, fol. edit. p. 12.

[b] Sleid. 535.

amounted

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amounted to twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and put it immediately in motion *.

Publiſhes a manifeſto juſtifying his conduct.

At the ſame time he publiſhed a manifeſto containing his reaſons for taking arms. Theſe were three in number; That he might ſecure the Proteſtant religion, which was threatened with immediate deſtruction; That he might maintain the conſtitution and laws of the Empire, and ſave Germany from being ſubjected to the domination of an abſolute monarch; That he might deliver the Landgrave of Heſſe from the miſeries of a long and unjuſt impriſonment. By the firſt, he rouzed all the favourers of the Reformation, a party formidable by their zeal as well as numbers, and rendered deſperate by oppreſſion. By the ſecond, he intereſted all the friends of liberty, Catholicks as well as Proteſtants, and made it their intereſt to unite with him in aſſerting the rights and privileges common to both. The third, beſides the glory which he acquired by his zeal to fulfil his engagements to the unhappy priſoner, was become a cauſe of general concern, not only from the compaſſion which the Landgrave's ſufferings excited, but from indignation at the injuſtice and rigour of the Emperor's proceedings againſt him. Together with Maurice's manifeſto, another appeared in the name of Albert Marquis of Brandenburgh Culmbach, who had joined him with a body of adventurers whom he had drawn together. The ſame grievances which Maurice had pointed out are mentioned in it, but with an exceſs of virulence and animoſity, ſuitable to the character of the prince in whoſe name it was publiſhed.

* Melv. Mem. p. 13. Theſe circumſtances concerning the Saxon miniſters whom Granvelle had bribed, are not mentioned by the German hiſtorians; but as Sir James Melvil received his information from the Elector Palatine, and as they are perfectly agreeable to the reſt of Maurice's conduct, they may be conſidered as authentick.

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He is powerfully supported by the French King.

THE King of France added to these a manifesto in his own name; in which, after taking notice of the ancient alliance between the French and German nations, both descended from the same ancestors; and after mentioning the applications, which, in consequence of this, some of the most illustrious among the German Princes had made to him for his protection; he declared that he now took arms to re-establish the ancient constitution of the Empire, to deliver some of its princes from captivity, and to secure the privileges and independence of all the members of the Germanick body. In this manifesto, Henry assumed the extraordinary title of *Protector of the Liberties of Germany, and of its captive Princes;* and there was engraved on it a cap, the ancient symbol of freedom, placed between two daggers, in order to intimate to the Germans, that this blessing was to be acquired and secured by force of arms [1].

Maurice's operations in the field.

MAURICE had now a very different part to act, but his flexible genius was capable of accommodating itself to every situation. The moment he took arms, he was as bold and enterprizing in the field, as he had been cautious and crafty in the cabinet. He advanced by rapid marches towards the Upper Germany. All the towns in his way opened their gates to him. He reinstated the magistrates whom the Emperor had deposed, and gave possession of the churches to the Protestant ministers whom he had ejected. He directed his march to Augsburg, and as the Imperial garrison which was too inconsiderable to think of defending it, retired immediately, he took

[1] Sleid. 549. Thuan. lib. x. 339. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 371.

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poſſeſſion of that great city, and made the ſame changes there as in the towns through which he had paſſed.

The Emperor's aſtoniſhment and diſtreſs.

No words can expreſs the Emperor's aſtoniſhment and conſternation at events ſo unexpected. He ſaw a great number of the German Princes in arms againſt him, and the reſt either ready to join them, or wiſhing ſucceſs to their enterprize. He beheld a powerful Monarch united with them in cloſe league, ſeconding their operations in perſon at the head of a formidable army, while he, through negligence and credulity, which expoſed him no leſs to ſcorn than to danger, had neither made nor was in condition to make any effectual proviſion either for cruſhing his rebellious ſubjects, or reſiſting the invaſion of the foreign enemy. Part of his Spaniſh troops had been ordered into Hungary againſt the Turks; the reſt had marched back to Italy upon occaſion of the war in the dutchy of Parma. The bands of veteran Germans had been diſmiſſed, becauſe he was not able to pay them; or had entered into Maurice's ſervice after the ſiege of Magdeburg; and he remained at Inſpruck with a body of ſoldiers ſcarce ſtrong enough to guard his own perſon. His treaſury was as much exhauſted, as his army was reduced. He had received no remittances for ſome time from the new world. He had forfeited all credit with the merchants of Genoa and Venice, who refuſed to lend him money, tho' tempted by the offer of exorbitant intereſt. Thus Charles, though undoubtedly the moſt conſiderable potentate in Chriſtendom, and capable of exerting the greateſt ſtrength, as his power, though violently attacked, was ſtill unimpaired, found himſelf in a ſituation which rendered him unable to make ſuch a ſudden

[k] Sleid. 555. Thuan. 342.

and

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and vigorous effort as the juncture required, and was neceſſary to have ſaved him from the preſent danger.

Endeavours to gain time by a negociation.

IN this ſituation, he placed all his hopes on negociating; the only reſource of thoſe who are conſcious of their own weakneſs. But thinking it inconſiſtent with his dignity to make the firſt advances to ſubjects who were in arms againſt him, he avoided that indecorum by employing the mediation of his brother Ferdinand. Maurice confiding in his own talents to conduct any negociation in ſuch a manner as to derive advantage from it, and hoping that by the appearance of facility in hearkening to the firſt overture of accommodation, he might amuſe the Emperor and tempt him to ſlacken the activity with which he was now preparing to defend himſelf, readily agreed to an interview with Ferdinand in the town of Lintz in Auſtria: and having left his army to proceed on its march under the command of the Duke of Mecklenburg, he repaired thither.

Progreſs of the French army.

THE King of France punctually fulfilled his engagement to his allies. He took the field early with a numerous and well appointed army, and marching directly into Lorrain, Toul and Verdun opened their gates at his approach. His forces appeared next before Metz, and that city by a fraudulent ſtratagem of the Conſtable Montmorency, who having obtained permiſſion to paſs through it with a ſmall guard, introduced as many troops as were ſufficient to overpower the garriſon, was likewiſe ſeized without bloodſhed. Henry made his entry into all theſe towns with great pomp; he obliged the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to him and annexed theſe important conqueſts to the French Monarchy. He left a ſtrong garriſon in Metz. From thence he advanced towards Alſace in order to attempt new conqueſts,

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to which the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended his arms invited him [1].

The negociations between the Emperor and Maurice of no effect.

THE conference at Lintz did not produce any accommodation. Maurice, when he conſented to it, ſeems to have had nothing in view but to amuſe the Emperor; for he made ſuch demands both in behalf of his confederates, and their ally the French King, as he knew would not be accepted by a Prince, too haughty to ſubmit, at once, to conditions dictated by an enemy. But how firmly ſoever Maurice adhered during the negociation to the intereſts of his aſſociates, or how ſteddily ſoever he kept in view the objects which had induced him to take arms, he often profeſſed a ſtrong inclination to terminate the differences with the Emperor in an amicable manner. Encouraged by this appearance of a pacifick diſpoſition, Ferdinand propoſed a ſecond interview at Paſſau on the twenty-ſixth of May, and that a truce ſhould commence on that day, and continue to the tenth of June, in order to give them leiſure for adjuſting all the points in diſpute.

Maurice advances towards Inſpruck.

UPON this, Maurice rejoined his army on the ninth of May, which had now advanced to Gundelfingen. He put his troops in motion next morning; and as ſixteen days yet remained for action before the commencement of the truce, he reſolved, during that period, to venture upon an enterprize, the ſucceſs of which would be ſo deciſive, as would render the negociations at Paſſau extremely ſhort, and entitle him to treat upon his own terms. He foreſaw that the proſpect of a ceſſation of arms, which was to take place ſo ſoon, together with the opinion of his earneſt-

[1] Thuan. 349.

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neſs to re-eſtabliſh peace, with which he had artfully amuſed Ferdinand, could not fail of inſpiring the Emperor with ſuch falſe hopes, that he would naturally become remiſs, and relapſe into ſome degree of that ſecurity, which had already been ſo fatal to him. Relying on this conjecture, he marched directly towards Inſpruck, and advanced with the moſt rapid motion that could be given to ſo great a body of troops. On the eighteenth he arrived at Fieſſen, a poſt of great conſequence, at the entrance into the Tyroleſe. There he found a body of eight hundred men, whom the Emperor had aſſembled, ſtrongly entrenched, in order to oppoſe his progreſs. He attacked them inſtantly with ſuch violence and impetuoſity, that they abandoned their lines precipitantly, and falling back on a ſecond body poſted near Ruten, communicated to thoſe troops, the pannick terror with which they themſelves had been ſeized, ſo that they likewiſe took to flight, after a feeble reſiſtance.

Takes the caſtle of Ehrenbergh.

ELATED with this ſucceſs, which exceeded his moſt ſanguine hopes, Maurice paſſed on to Ehrenbergh, a caſtle ſituated on an high and ſteep precipice, which commanded the only paſs through the mountains. As this fort had been ſurrendered to the Proteſtants, at the beginning of the Smalkaldic war, becauſe the garriſon was then too weak to defend it, the Emperor, ſenſible of its importance, had taken care, at this juncture, to throw into it a body of troops ſufficient to maintain it againſt the greateſt army. But a ſhepherd, in purſuing a goat which had ſtrayed from his flock, having diſcovered an unknown path by which it was poſſible to aſcend to the top of the rock, came with this ſeaſonable piece of intelligence to Maurice. A ſmall band of choſen ſoldiers under the command of George of Mecklenburgh

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was instantly ordered to follow this guide. They set out in the evening, and clambering up the rugged track with infinite fatigue as well as danger, they reached the summit unperceived; and at an hour which had been concerted, when Maurice began the assault on the one side of the castle, they appeared on the other, ready to scale the walls, which were feeble in that place, because it had been hitherto deemed inaccessible. The garrison, struck with terror at the sight of an enemy on a quarter where they had thought themselves perfectly secure, immediately threw down their arms. Maurice, almost without bloodshed, and which was of greater consequence to him, without loss of time, took possession of a place, the reduction of which might have retarded him long, and have required the utmost efforts of his valour and skill [m].

A mutiny of his troops retards his march.

Maurice was now only two days march from Inspruck, and without losing a moment he ordered his infantry to advance thither, having left his cavalry, which was unserviceable in that mountainous country, at Fiessen, to guard the mouth of the pass. He proposed to advance with such rapidity as to anticipate any accounts of the loss of Ehrenbergh, and to surprize the Emperor together with his attendants in an open town incapable of defence. But just as his troops began to move, a battalion of mercenaries mutinied, declaring that they would not stir until they had received the gratuity, which, according to the custom of that age, they claimed as the recompence due to them for having taken a place by assault. It was with great difficulty as well as danger, and not without some considerable loss of time, that

[m] Arnoldi vita Maurit. 123.

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Maurice quieted this inſurrection, and prevailed on the ſoldiers to follow him to a place where he promiſed them ſuch rich booty as would be an ample reward for all their ſervices.

The Emperor flies in confuſion from Inſpruck.

To the delay, occaſioned by this unforeſeen accident, the Emperor owed his ſafety. He was informed of the approaching danger late in the evening, and knowing that nothing could ſave him but a ſpeedy flight, he inſtantly left Inſpruck, without regarding the darkneſs of the night, or the violence of the rain which happened to fall at that time; and notwithſtanding his being ſo much debilitated by the gout that he could bear no motion but that of a litter, he travelled by the light of torches, taking his way over the Alps, by roads almoſt impaſſable. His courtiers and attendants followed him with equal precipitation, ſome of them on ſuch horſes as they could haſtily procure, many of them on foot, and all in the utmoſt confuſion. In this miſerable plight, very unlike the pomp with which Charles had appeared during the five preceding years as the conqueror of Germany, he arrived at length with his dejected train at Villach in Carinthia, and ſcarce thought himſelf ſecure even in that remote inacceſſible corner.

Maurice enters that town.

Maurice entered Inſpruck a few hours after the Emperor and his attendants had left it; and enraged that the prey ſhould eſcape out of his hands when he was juſt ready to ſeize it, he purſued them ſome miles; but finding it impoſſible to overtake perſons, to whom their fear gave ſpeed, he returned to the town, and abandoned all the Emperor's baggage and that of his miniſters to be plundered by the ſoldiers; while he preſerved untouched every thing belonging to the King of the Romans, either becauſe he had formed ſome friendly connection with

that Prince, or becauſe he wiſhed to have it believed that ſuch a connection ſubſiſted between them. As there now remained only three days to the commencement of the truce, (with ſuch nicety had Maurice calculated his operations) he ſet out for Paſſau, that he might meet Ferdinand on the day appointed.

The Emperor ſets the Elector of Saxony at liberty.

BEFORE Charles left Inſpruck, he withdrew the guards placed on the degraded Elector of Saxony, whom, during five years, he had carried about with him as a priſoner; and ſet him entirely at liberty, either with an intention to embaraſs Maurice by letting looſe a rival, who might diſpute his title to his dominions and dignity, or from a ſenſe of the indecency of detaining him a priſoner, while he himſelf run the riſque of being deprived of his own liberty. But that Prince, ſeeing no way of eſcaping but that which the Emperor took, and abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of a kinſman, whom he juſtly conſidered as the author of all his misfortunes, choſe rather to accompany Charles in his flight, and to expect the final deciſion of his fate from the treaty which was now approaching.

The council of Trent breaks up in great conſternation.

THIS was not the only effect which Maurice's operations produced. It was no ſooner known at Trent that he had taken arms, than a general conſternation ſeized the fathers of the council. The German prelates immediately returned home, that they might provide for the ſafety of their territories. The reſt were extremely impatient to be gone; and the legate, who had hitherto diſappointed all the endeavours of the Imperial ambaſſadors to procure for the Proteſtant divines an audience in the council, laid hold with joy on ſuch a plauſible pretext for diſmiſſing

Book X. 1552. missing an assembly, which he had found it so difficult to govern. In a congregation held on the twenty-eighth of April, a decree was issued proroguing the council during two years, and appointing it to meet at the expiration of that time, if peace were then re-established in Europe[a]. This prorogation, however, continued no less than ten years; and its proceedings when reassembled in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, fall not within the period prescribed to this history.

The effect of its decrees.

THE convocation of this assembly had been passionately desired by all the states and Princes in Christendom, who, from the wisdom and piety of prelates representing the whole body of the faithful, expected some charitable and efficacious endeavours towards composing the dissensions which unhappily had arisen in the church. But the several Popes by whose authority it was called, had other objects in view; and exerting all their power or policy to attain these; acquired by the abilities as well as address of their legates, by the ignorance of many of the prelates, and by the servility of the indigent Italian bishops, such influence in the council, that they dictated all its decrees, and framed them not with an intention to restore unity and concord to the church, but to establish their own dominion, or to confirm these tenets, upon which they imagined that dominion to be founded. Doctrines, which had hitherto been admitted upon the credit of tradition alone, and received with some latitude of interpretation, were defined with a scrupulous nicety, and confirmed by the sanction of authority. Rites which had formerly been observed only in deference to custom supposed to be ancient, were established by the decrees of the church, and declared to

[a] F. Paul, 353.

be eſſential parts of its worſhip. The breach, inſtead of being cloſed, was widened, and made irreparable. In place of any attempt to reconcile the contending parties, a line was drawn with ſuch ſtudied accuracy, as aſcertained and marked out the diſtinction between them. This ſtill ſerves to keep them at a diſtance; and muſt, without ſome ſignal interpoſition of divine Providence, render the ſeparation perpetual.

Character of the hiſtorians of this council.

OUR knowledge of the proceedings of this aſſembly is derived from three different authors. Father Paul of Venice wrote his hiſtory of the Council of Trent, while the memory of what had paſſed there was recent, and ſome who had been members of it were ſtill alive. He has expoſed the intrigues and artifices by which it was conducted, with a freedom and ſeverity which have given a deep wound to the credit and reputation of the council. He has deſcribed its deliberations, and explained its decrees, with ſuch perſpicuity and depth of thought, with ſuch various erudition and ſuch force of reaſon, as have juſtly entitled his work to be placed among the moſt admired hiſtorical compoſitions. About half a century thereafter, the Jeſuit Pallavicini publiſhed his hiſtory of the council in oppoſition to that of Father Paul, and by employing all the force of an acute and refining genius to invalidate the credit, or to confute the reaſonings of his antagoniſt, he labours to prove, by artful apologies for the proceedings of the council, and ſubtile interpretations of its decrees, that it deliberated with impartiality, and decided with judgment as well as candour. Vargas, a Spaniſh doctor of laws, who was appointed to attend the Imperial ambaſſadors at Trent, ſent the biſhop of Arras a regular account of the tranſactions there, explaining all the arts which the Legate employed to influence, or over-awe the council. His letters have been publiſh-

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ed, in which he inveighs againſt the Papal court with that aſperity of cenſure, which was natural to a man whoſe ſituation enabled him to obſerve its arts thoroughly, and who was obliged to exert all his attention and talents in order to diſappoint them. But whichſoever of theſe authors an intelligent perſon takes for his guide, in forming a judgment concerning the ſpirit of the council, he muſt diſcover ſo much ambition as well as artifice among ſome of the members, ſo much ignorance and corruption among others; he muſt obſerve ſuch a large infuſion of human policy and paſſions, but ſuch a ſcanty portion of that ſimplicity of heart, ſanctity of manners, and love of truth, which alone qualify men to determine what doctrines are worthy of God, and what worſhip is acceptable to him; that he will find it no eaſy matter to believe, that any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghoſt hovered over this aſſembly, and dictated its decrees.

The French endeavour to ſurprize Straſburgh.

WHILE Maurice was employed in negociating with the King of the Romans at Lintz, or in making war on the Emperor in the Tyrol, the French King had advanced into Alſace as far as Straſburgh; and having demanded leave of the Senate to march through the city, he hoped that by repeating the ſame fraud which he had practiſed at Metz, he might render himſelf maſter of the place, and by that means ſecure a paſſage over the Rhine into the heart of Germany. But the Straſburghers, inſtructed and put on their guard by the credulity and misfortune of their neighbours, ſhut their gates; and having aſſembled a garriſon of five thouſand ſoldiers, repaired their fortifications, razed the houſes in their ſuburbs, and determined to defend themſelves to the utmoſt. At the ſame time they ſent a deputation of their moſt reſpectable citizens to the King, in order to divert him from making any hoſtile attempt upon them. The Electors of

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Treves and Cologn, the Duke of Cleves, and other Princes in the neighbourhood, interpoſed in their behalf; beſeeching Henry that he would not forget ſo ſoon the title which he had generouſly aſſumed; and inſtead of being the Deliverer of Germany, become its Oppreſſor. The Swiſs cantons ſeconded them with zeal, ſolliciting Henry to ſpare a city which had long been connected with their community in friendſhip and alliance.

But without ſucceſs.

POWERFUL as this united interceſſion was, it would not have prevailed on Henry to forego a prize of ſo much value, if he had been in a condition to have ſeized it. But, in that age, the method of ſubſiſting numerous armies at a diſtance from the frontiers of their own country, was imperfectly underſtood, and neither the revenues of Princes, nor their experience in the art of war, were equal to the great and complicated efforts which ſuch an undertaking required. The French, though not far removed from their own country, began already to ſuffer for want of proviſions, and had no ſufficient magazines collected to ſupport them during a ſiege, which muſt neceſſarily have been of great length [o]. At the ſame time, the Queen of Hungary, governeſs of the Low-Countries, had aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, which, under the command of Martin de Roſſem, laid waſte Champagne, and threatened the adjacent provinces of France. Theſe concurring circumſtances obliged the King, though with reluctance, to abandon the enterprize. But being willing to acquire ſome merit with his allies, by this retreat which he could not avoid, he pretended to the Swiſs that he had taken the reſolution merely in compliance with their requeſt [p]; and then, after giving orders that all the horſes in his army

[o] Thuan. 351, 352. [p] Sleid. 557. Brantome, tom. vii. 39.

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ſhould be led to drink in the Rhine, as a proof of his having puſhed his conqueſts ſo far, he marched back towards Champagne.

The operations of Albert of Brandenburg.

WHILE the French King and the main army of the confederates were thus employed; Albert of Brandenburgh was entruſted with the command of a ſeparate body of eight thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of mercenaries who had reſorted to his ſtandard, rather from the hope of plunder, than the expectation of regular pay. That Prince, ſeeing himſelf at the head of ſuch a number of deſperate adventurers ready to follow wherever he ſhould lead them, ſoon began to diſdain a ſtate of ſubordination, and to form ſuch vaſt ſchemes of aggrandizing himſelf, as ſeldom occur, even to ambitious minds, unleſs when civil war or violent factions rouze them to bold exertions, by alluring them with immediate hopes of ſucceſs. Full of theſe aſpiring thoughts, Albert made war in a manner very different from the other confederates. He endeavoured to ſpread the terror of his arms by the rapidity of his motions, as well as the extent and rigour of his devaſtations; he exacted contributions wherever he came, in order to amaſs ſuch a ſum of money, as would put it in his power to keep his army together; he laboured to get poſſeſſion of Nurembergh, Ulme, or ſome other of the free cities in upper Germany, in which, as a capital, he might fix the ſeat of his power. But, finding theſe cities on their guard, and in a condition to reſiſt his attacks, he turned all his rage againſt the popiſh eccleſiaſticks, whoſe territories he plundered with ſuch wanton and mercileſs barbarity, as gave them a very unfavourable impreſſion of the ſpirit of that reformation in religion, with zeal for which he pretended to be animated. The biſhops

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of Bambergh and Wurzburgh, by their ſituation, lay particularly expoſed to his ravages; he obliged the former to transfer to him, in property almoſt one half of his extenſive dioceſe; and compelled the latter to advance an immenſe ſum in order to ſave his country from ruin and deſolation. During all theſe wild ſallies, Albert paid no regard either to Maurice's orders, whoſe commands as Generaliſſimo of the league he had engaged to obey, or to the remonſtrances of the other confederates; and manifeſtly diſcovered that he attended only to his own private emolument, without any ſollicitude about the common cauſe, or the general objects which had induced them to take arms [q].

The negociations of peace at Paſſau.

MEANWHILE, Maurice having ordered his army to march back into Bavaria, and having publiſhed a proclamation enjoining the Lutheran clergy and inſtructors of youth, to reſume the exerciſe of their functions in all the cities, ſchools, and univerſities, from which they had been ejected, met Ferdinand at Paſſau on the twenty-ſixth day of May. As matters of the greateſt conſequence to the future peace and independance of the Empire were to be ſettled in this congreſs, the eyes of all Germany were fixed upon it. Beſides Ferdinand and the Imperial ambaſſadors, the Duke of Bavaria, the biſhops of Saltzburgh, and Aichſtadt, the miniſters of all the Electors, together with deputies from moſt of the conſiderable Princes and free cities reſorted to Paſſau. Maurice, in name of his aſſociates, and the King of the Romans as the Emperor's repreſentative opened the negociation. The Princes who were preſent, together with the deputies of ſuch as were abſent, acted as interceſſors or mediators between them.

[q] Sleid. 561. Thuan. 357.

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The terms which Maurice propoſed.

MAURICE, in a long diſcourſe, explained the motives of his own conduct. After having enumerated all the unconſtitutional and oppreſſive acts of the Emperor's adminiſtration, he, agreeably to the manifeſto which he had publiſhed when he took arms againſt him, limited his demands to three articles. That the Landgrave of Heſſe ſhould be immediately ſet at liberty; That the grievances in the civil government of the Empire ſhould be redreſſed; and that the Proteſtants ſhould be allowed the publick exerciſe of their religion without moleſtation. Ferdinand and the Imperial ambaſſadors diſcovering their unwillingneſs to gratify him with regard to all theſe points, the mediators wrote a joint letter to the Emperor, beſeeching him to deliver Germany from the calamities of a civil war, by giving ſuch ſatisfaction to Maurice and his party as might induce them to lay down their arms; and at the ſame time they prevailed upon Maurice to grant a prolongation of the truce for a ſhort time, during which they undertook to procure the Emperor's final anſwer to his demands.

Powerfully ſupported by the Princes of the Empire.

THIS requeſt was preſented to the Emperor in the name of all the Princes of the Empire, Popiſh as well as Proteſtant, in the name of ſuch as had lent an helping hand to forward his ambitious ſchemes, as well as of thoſe who had viewed the progreſs of his power with jealouſy and dread. The uncommon and cordial unanimity with which they concurred at this juncture in enforcing Maurice's demands, and in recommending peace, flowed from different cauſes. Such as were moſt attached to the Roman catholick church could not help obſerving that the Proteſtant confederates were at the head of a numerous army, while the Emperor was but juſt beginning to provide for

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his own defence. They foreſaw that great efforts would be required of them, and would be neceſſary on their part, in order to cope with enemies, who had been allowed to get the ſtart ſo far and to attain ſuch formidable power. Experience had taught them that the fruit of all theſe efforts would be reaped by the Emperor alone, and the more compleat any victory proved which they ſhould gain, the faſter would they bind their own fetters, and render them the more intolerable. Theſe conſiderations made them cautious how they contributed a ſecond time, by their indiſcreet zeal, to put the Emperor in poſſeſſion of power which would be fatal to the liberties of their country. Notwithſtanding the implacable fierceneſs of the ſpirit of bigotry in that age, they choſe rather that the Proteſtants ſhould acquire that ſecurity for their religion which they demanded, than by aſſiſting Charles to oppreſs them, to give ſuch additional force to the Imperial prerogative, as would overturn the conſtitution of the Empire. To all theſe conſiderations, the dread of ſeeing Germany laid waſte by a civil war added new force. Many ſtates of the Empire already felt the deſtructive rage of Albert's arms, others dreaded it, and all wiſhed for an accommodation between the Emperor and Maurice, which they hoped would ſave them from that cruel ſcourge.

The motives which influenced the Emperor at this juncture.

SUCH were the reaſons that induced ſo many Princes, notwithſtanding the variety of their political intereſts, and the oppoſition in their religious ſentiments, to unite in recommending to the Emperor an accommodation with Maurice, not only as a ſalutary, but as a neceſſary meaſure. The motives which prompted Charles to deſire it were not fewer or of leſs weight. He was perfectly ſenſible of the advantage which the confederates had

Book X. had acquired through his own negligence; and he now felt the insufficiency of his own resources to oppose them. His Spanish subjects, disgusted at his long absence, and weary of endless wars, which were of no benefit to their country, refused to furnish him any considerable supply either of men or money; and although he might have hoped by his address or importunity to draw from them at last more effectual aid; that, he knew, was too distant to be of any service in the present exigency of his affairs. His treasury was drained; his veteran forces were dispersed, or disbanded, and he could not depend much either on the fidelity or courage of the new levied soldiers whom he was collecting. There was no hope of repeating with success the same artifices which had weakened and ruined the Smalkaldic league. As the end at which he aimed was now known, he could no longer employ the specious pretexts, which had formerly concealed his ambitious designs. Every Prince in Germany was alarmed and on his guard; and it was vain to think of blinding them a second time to such a degree, as to make one part of them instruments to enslave the other. The spirit of a confederacy whereof Maurice was the head, experience had taught him, to be very different from that of the league of Smalkalde; and from what he had already felt, he had no reason to flatter himself that its counsels would be as irresolute, or its efforts as timid and feeble. If he should resolve on continuing the war, he might lay his account that the most considerable states in Germany would take part in it against him; and a dubious neutrality was the utmost he could expect from the rest. While the confederates found full employment for his arms in one quarter, the King of France would seize the favourable opportunity, and push on his operations in another, with almost

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certain ſucceſs. That Monarch had already made conqueſts in the Empire, which he was no leſs eager to recover, than impatient to be revenged on him for aiding his malecontent ſubjects. Though Henry had now retired from the banks of the Rhine, he had only varied the ſcene of hoſtilities, having invaded the Low-Countries with all his forces. The Turks, rouſed by the ſollicitations of the French King, as well as ſtimulated by reſentment againſt Ferdinand for having violated the truce in Hungary, had prepared a powerful fleet to ravage the coaſts of Naples and Sicily, which he had left almoſt defenceleſs, by calling thence the greateſt part of the regular troops to join the army which he was now aſſembling.

Ferdinand zealous to promote an accommodation.

FERDINAND, who went in perſon to Villach, in order to lay before the Emperor the reſult of the conferences at Paſſau, had likewiſe reaſons peculiar to himſelf for deſiring an accommodation. Theſe prompted him to ſecond, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, the arguments which the Princes aſſembled there had employed in recommending it. He had obſerved, not without ſecret ſatisfaction, the fatal blow which had been given to the deſpotic power, which his brother had uſurped in the Empire. He was extremely ſollicitous to prevent Charles from recovering what he had loſt, as he foreſaw that he would immediately reſume with freſh eagerneſs, and a better chance of ſucceſs, his favourite ſcheme of tranſmitting that power to his ſon by excluding him from the right of ſucceſſion to the Imperial throne. On this account, he was willing to contribute towards circumſcribing the Imperial authority, in order to render his own poſſeſſion of it certain. Beſides, Solyman, exaſperated at the loſs of Tranſylvania, and ſtill more at the fraudulent arts by which it had been ſeized, had

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had ordered into the field an army of an hundred thouſand men, which having defeated a great body of Ferdinand's troops, and taken ſeveral places of importance, threatened not only to compleat the conqueſt of the province, but to drive him out of that part of Hungary which was ſtill ſubject to his juriſdiction. He was unable to reſiſt ſuch a mighty enemy; his brother, while engaged in a domeſtic war, could afford him no aid; and he could not even hope to draw from Germany the contingent either of troops or money uſually furniſhed to repel the invaſions of the Infidels. Maurice having obſerved Ferdinand's perplexity, with regard to this laſt point, had offered, if peace were re-eſtabliſhed on a ſecure foundation, that he would march in perſon with his troops into Hungary to his aſſiſtance. Such was the effect of this well-timed propoſal, that Ferdinand, deſtitute of every other proſpect of relief, became the moſt zealous advocate the confederates could have choſen to urge their claims, and there was ſcarce any thing that they could have demanded which he would not have choſen to grant, rather than have retarded a pacification, to which he truſted as the only means of ſaving his Hungarian crown.

Circumſtances which retard it.

WHEN ſo many cauſes conſpired in rendering an accommodation eligible, it might have been expected that it would have immediately taken place. But the inflexibility of the Emperor's temper, together with his unwillingneſs to relinquiſh, at once, objects which he had long purſued with ſuch earneſtneſs and aſſiduity, counterbalanced, for ſome time, the force of all the motives which diſpoſed him to peace, and not only put that event at a diſtance, but ſeemed to render it uncertain. When Maurice's demands, together with the letter of the mediators at Paſſau, were preſented to him, he peremptorily refuſed to redreſs the

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grievances which were pointed out, nor would he agree to any ſtipulation for the immediate ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, but propoſed referring both theſe to the determination of a future diet. On his part, he required that inſtant reparation ſhould be made to all who, during the preſent war, had ſuffered either by the licentiouſneſs of the confederate troops, or the exactions of their leaders. Book X. 1552.

Maurice's vigorous operations facilitate it.

MAURICE, who was well acquainted with the Emperor's arts, immediately concluded that he had nothing in view in theſe overtures but to amuſe and deceive; and therefore, without liſtening to Ferdinand's intreaties, he left Paſſau abruptly, and joining his troops which were encamped at Mergentheim, a city in Franconia, belonging to the knights of the Teutonic order, he put them in motion, and renewed hoſtilities. As three thouſand men in the Emperor's pay had thrown themſelves into Frankfort on the Maine, and might from thence infeſt the neighbouring country of Heſſe, he marched towards that city, and laid ſiege to it in form. The briſkneſs of this enterprize, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches againſt the town gave ſuch an alarm to the Emperor, as diſpoſed him to lend a more favourable ear to Ferdinand's arguments in behalf of an accommodation. Firm and haughty as his nature was, he found it neceſſary to bend, and ſignified his willingneſs to make conceſſions on his part, if Maurice, in return, would abate ſomewhat of the rigour of his demands. Ferdinand as ſoon as he perceived that he began to yield, did not deſiſt from his importunities, until he prevailed on him to declare what was the utmoſt that he would grant for the ſecurity of the confederates. Having gained this difficult point, he inſtantly diſpatched a meſſenger

July 17.

BOOK X. 1552. to Maurice's camp, and imparting to him the Emperor's final reſolution, conjured him not to fruſtrate his endeavours for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace; or, by an unſeaſonable obſtinacy on his ſide, to diſappoint the wiſhes of all Germany for that ſalutary event.

Maurice deſirous of an accommodation.

MAURICE, notwithſtanding the proſperous ſituation of his affairs was ſtrongly inclined to liſten to his advice. The Emperor, though over-reached and ſurprized, had now begun to aſſemble troops, and how ſlow ſoever his motions might be, while the firſt effects of his conſternation remained, he was ſenſible that Charles muſt at laſt act with vigour proportional to the extent of his power and territories, and lead into Germany an army formidable by its numbers, and ſtill more by the terror of his name, as well as the remembrance of his paſt victories. He could ſcarce hope that a confederacy compoſed of ſo many members would continue to operate with ſufficient union and perſeverance to reſiſt the conſiſtent and well directed efforts of an army, at the abſolute diſpoſal of a leader accuſtomed to command and to conquer. He felt already, although he had not hitherto experienced the ſhock of any adverſe event, that he was the head of a diſjointed body. He ſaw, from the example of Albert of Brandenburgh, how difficult it would be, with all his addreſs and credit, to prevent any particular member from detaching himſelf from the whole, and how impoſſible to recal him to his proper rank and ſubordination. This filled him with apprehenſions for the common cauſe. Another conſideration gave him no leſs diſquiet with regard to his own particular intereſts. By ſetting at liberty the degraded Elector, and by repealing the act depriving him of his hereditary honours and dominions, the Emperor had

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it in his power to wound him in the moſt ſenſible part. The efforts of a Prince beloved by his ancient ſubjects, and revered by all the Proteſtant party, in order to recover what had been unjuſtly taken from him, could ſcarce have failed of exciting commotions in Saxony, which would endanger all that he had acquired at the expence of ſo much diſſimulation and artifice. It was no leſs in the Emperor's power to render vain all the ſollicitations of the confederates in behalf of the Landgrave. He had only to add one act of violence more to the injuſtice and rigour with which he had already treated him; and he had accordingly threatened the ſons of that unfortunate Prince, that if they perſiſted in their preſent enterprize, inſtead of ſeeing their father reſtored to liberty, they ſhould hear of his having ſuffered the puniſhment which his rebellion had merited [a].

HAVING deliberated upon all theſe points with his aſſociates, Maurice thought it more prudent to accept of the conditions offered, though leſs advantageous than thoſe which he had propoſed, than again to commit all to the doubtful iſſue of war [b]. He repaired forthwith to Paſſau, and ſigned the treaty of peace; of which the chief articles were, That before the twelfth day of Auguſt, the confederates ſhall lay down their arms, and diſband their forces; That on or before that day the Landgrave ſhall be ſet at liberty, and conveyed in ſafety to his caſtle of Rheinfels; That a diet ſhall be held within ſix months in order to deliberate concerning the moſt proper and effectual method of preventing for the future all diſputes and diſſentions about religion; That,

The peace of Religion concluded at Paſſau.

Aug. 2.

[a] Sleid. 571.

[b] Sleid. Hiſt. 563, &c. Thuan. lib. x. 359, &c.

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in the mean time neither the Emperor nor any other Prince, ſhall, upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or violence to ſuch as adhered to the confeſſion of Augſburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undiſturbed exerciſe of their religion; That the Proteſtants in return, ſhall not moleſt the Catholicks either in the exerciſe of their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, or in performing their religious ceremonies; That the Imperial chamber ſhall adminiſter juſtice impartially to perſons of both parties, and Proteſtants be admitted indiſcriminately with the Catholicks to ſit as judges in that court; That if the next diet ſhould not be able to terminate the diſputes with regard to religion, the ſtipulations in the preſent treaty in behalf of the Proteſtants, ſhall continue for ever in full force and vigour; That none of the confederates ſhall be liable to any action on account of what had happened during the courſe of the war; That the conſideration of thoſe encroachments which had been made, as Maurice pretended, upon the conſtitution and liberties of the Empire ſhall be remitted to the approaching diet; That Albert of Brandenburgh ſhall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he ſhall accede to it, and diſband his forces before the twelfth of Auguſt[c].

Reflections upon this peace and upon the conduct of Maurice.

SUCH was the memorable treaty of Paſſau, that overturned the vaſt fabric, in erecting which Charles had employed ſo many years, and had exerted the utmoſt efforts of his power and policy; which annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority abſolute and hereditary in his family; and eſtabliſhed the Pro-

[c] Recueil des Traitez, ii. 261.

teſtant

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teſtant church, which had hitherto ſubſiſted precarioufly in Germany, through connivance, or by expedients, upon a firm and ſecure baſis. Maurice reaped all the glory of having concerted and compleated this unexpected revolution. It is a ſingular circumſtance, that the Reformation ſhould be indebted for its ſecurity and full eſtabliſhment in Germany, to the ſame hand which had formerly brought it to the brink of deſtruction, and that both events ſhould have been accompliſhed by the ſame arts of diſſimulation. The ends, however, which Maurice had in view, at theſe different junctures, ſeem to have been more attended to than the means by which he attained them; and he was now as univerſally extolled for his zeal and publick ſpirit, as he had lately been condemned for his indifference and intereſted policy. It is no leſs worthy of obſervation, that the French King, a monarch zealous for the Catholick faith, ſhould, at the very time when he was perſecuting his own Proteſtant ſubjects with all the fierceneſs of bigotry, employ his power in order to protect and maintain the Reformation in the Empire; and that the league for this purpoſe, which proved ſo fatal to the Romiſh church, ſhould be negociated and ſigned by a Roman catholick biſhop. So wonderfully doth the wiſdom of God ſuperintend and regulate the caprice of human paſſions, and render them ſubſervient towards the accompliſhment of his own purpoſes.

LITTLE attention was paid to the intereſts of the French King during the negociations at Paſſau. Maurice and his aſſociates, having gained what they had in view, diſcovered no great ſollicitude about an ally, whom, perhaps, they reckoned to be overpaid, by his acquiſitions in Lorrain, for the aſſiſtance which he had given them. A ſhort clauſe which they procured to be

Little attention paid to the French King in this treaty.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

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AS ſoon as the treaty of Paſſau was ſigned, Maurice, in conſequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, marched into Hungary at the head of twenty thouſand men. But the vaſt ſuperiority of the Turkiſh armies, the frequent mutinies, both of the Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, occaſioned by their want of pay, together with the diſſentions between Maurice and Caſtaldo, who was piqued at being obliged to reſign the chief command to him, prevented his performing any thing in that country worthy of his former fame, or of great benefit to the King of the Romans [a].

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Aug. 3. Maurice marches into Hungary againſt the Turks.

[a] Iſtuanhaffi Hiſt. Hungar. 228. Thuan. lib. x. 371.

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The Landgrave of Heſſe recovers his liberty.

WHEN Maurice ſet out for Hungary, the Prince of Heſſe parted from him with the forces under his command, and marched back into his own country, that he might be ready to receive his father upon his return, and give up to him the reins of government which he had held during his abſence. But fortune was not yet weary of perſecuting the Landgrave. A battalion of mercenary troops, which had been in the pay of Heſſe, being ſeduced by Reifenberg their colonel, a ſoldier of fortune, and ready to engage in any enterprize, ſecretly withdrew from the young Prince as he was marching homewards, and joined Albert of Brandenburgh, who ſtill continued in arms againſt the Emperor, refuſing to be included in the treaty of Paſſau. Unhappily for the Landgrave, an account of this reached the Netherlands, juſt as he was diſmiſſed from the citadel of Mechlin where he had been confined, but before he had got beyond the frontiers of that country. The Queen of Hungary, who governed there in her brother's name, incenſed at ſuch an open violation of the treaty to which he owed his liberty, commanded him to be arreſted, and committed him again to the cuſtody of the ſame Spaniſh captain who had guarded him for five years with ſuch ſevere vigilance. Philip beheld all the horrors of his impriſonment renewed, and his ſpirits ſubſiding in the ſame proportion as they had riſen during the ſhort interval in which he had enjoyed liberty, he ſunk into deſpair, and believed himſelf to be doomed to perpetual captivity. But the matter being explained to the Emperor's full ſatisfaction, that the revolt of Reifenberg's mercenaries could be imputed neither to the Landgrave nor to his ſon, he gave orders for his releaſe; and Philip at laſt obtained

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the liberty for which he had ſo long languiſhed[b]. But though he recovered his freedom, and was reinſtated in his dominions, his ſufferings ſeem to have broken the vigour, and to have extinguiſhed the activity of his mind: From being the boldeſt as well as moſt enterprizing Prince in the Empire, he became the moſt timid and cautious, and paſſed the remainder of his days in a pacific indolence.

Likewiſe the Elector of Saxony.

THE degraded Elector of Saxony, likewiſe, procured his liberty in conſequence of the treaty of Paſſau. The Emperor having been obliged to relinquiſh all his ſchemes for extirpating the Proteſtant religion, had no longer any motive for detaining him a priſoner; and being extremely ſollicitous, at that juncture, to recover the confidence and goodwill of the Germans, whoſe aſſiſtance was eſſential to the ſucceſs of the enterprize which he meditated againſt the King of France, he, among other expedients for that purpoſe, thought of releaſing from impriſonment a Prince whoſe merit entitled him no leſs to eſteem, than his ſufferings rendered him the object of compaſſion. John Frederick took poſſeſſion accordingly of that part of his territories which had been reſerved for him, when Maurice was inveſted with the Electoral dignity. As he continued to diſplay in this ſituation, the ſame virtuous magnanimity, for which he had been conſpicuous in a more proſperous and ſplendid ſtate, and which he had retained amidſt all his ſufferings, he lived ſeveral years in that high reputation to which he had ſo juſt a title.

The Emperor reſolves to make war upon France.

THE loſs of Metz, Toul and Verdun, had made a deep impreſſion on the Emperor. Accuſtomed to terminate all his operations

[b] Sleid. 573. Belcarii Comment. 834.

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againſt France with advantage to himſelf, he thought that it nearly concerned his honour not to allow Henry the ſuperiority in this war, or to ſuffer his own adminiſtration to be ſtained with the infamy of having permitted territories of ſuch conſequence to be diſmembered from the Empire. This was no leſs a point of intereſt than of honour. As the frontier of Champagne was more naked, and lay more expoſed than that of any province in France, he had frequently, during his wars with that kingdom, made inroads upon it with great ſucceſs and effect; but if Henry were allowed to retain his late conqueſts, France would gain ſuch a formidable barrier on that ſide, as to be altogether ſecure, where formerly ſhe had been weakeſt. On the other hand, the Emperor had now loſt as much, in point of ſecurity, as France had acquired, and being ſtripped of the defence which thoſe cities afforded it, lay open to be invaded on a quarter, where all the towns having been hitherto conſidered as interior, and remote from any enemy, were but ſlightly fortified. Theſe conſiderations determined Charles to attempt recovering the three towns of which Henry had made himſelf maſter; and the preparations which he had made againſt Maurice and his aſſociates enabled him to carry his reſolution into immediate execution.

His preparations for this purpoſe.

As ſoon, then, as the peace was concluded at Paſſau, he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and advanced to Augſburg at the head of a conſiderable body of Germans which he had levied, together with all the troops which he had drawn out of Italy and Spain. To theſe he added ſeveral battalions, which having been in the pay of the confederates, entered into his ſervice when diſmiſſed by them; and he prevailed likewiſe on ſome of the Princes of the Empire to join him with their vaſſals. In order to conceal the

the deſtination of this formidable army, and to guard againſt alarming the French ſo as to put them on preparing for their defence, he gave out that he was to march forthwith into Hungary, in order to ſecond Maurice in his operations againſt the Infidels. When he began to advance towards the Rhine, and could no longer employ that pretext, he tried a new artifice, and ſpread a report that he was marching in order to chaſtiſe Albert of Brandenburg, whoſe cruel exactions in that part of the Empire called loudly for his interpoſition to check them.

The precautions of the French for the defence of Metz.

But the French having grown acquainted, at laſt, with arts by which they had been ſo often deceived, viewed all Charles's motions with diſtruſt. Henry immediately gueſſed the true object of his vaſt preparations, and reſolved to defend the important conqueſts which he had gained with vigour equal to that with which they were about to be attacked. As he foreſaw that the whole weight of the war would be turned againſt Metz, the fate of which would decide that of Toul and Verdun, he nominated Francis of Lorrain Duke of Guiſe to take the command in that city during the ſiege, the iſſue of which would equally affect the honour and intereſt of his country. His choice could not have fallen upon any perſon more worthy of that truſt. The Duke of Guiſe poſſeſſed, in a high degree, all the qualities of courage, ſagacity, and preſence of mind, which render men eminent in military command. He was largely endowed with that magnanimity of ſoul which delights in bold enterprizes, and aſpires to fame by ſplendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous ſtation aſſigned him, as to a theatre on which he might diſplay his great qualities under the immediate eye of his countrymen all ready to applaud him. The martial

The Duke of Guiſe appointed governor of the town.

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genius of the French nobility in that age, which conſidered it as the greateſt reproach to remain inactive, when there was any opportunity of ſignalizing their courage, prompted great numbers to follow a leader who was the darling as well as the pattern of all that courted military fame. Several Princes of the blood, many noblemen of the higheſt rank, and all the young officers who could obtain the King's permiſſion, entered Metz as volunteers. By their preſence they added ſpirit to the garriſon, and enabled the Duke of Guiſe to employ on every emergency perſons eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and fit to conduct any ſervice.

Prepares for a vigorous defence.

BUT with whatever alacrity the Duke of Guiſe undertook the defence of Metz, he found every thing, upon his arrival there, in ſuch a ſituation, as might have induced any perſon of leſs intrepid courage to deſpair of defending it with ſucceſs. The city was of great extent, with large ſuburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; the ditch narrow; and the old towers, which projected inſtead of baſtions, were at too great diſtance from each other to defend the ſpace between them. For all theſe defects he endeavoured to provide the beſt remedy, which the time would permit. He ordered the ſuburbs, without ſparing the monaſteries or churches, not even that of St. Arnulph, in which ſeveral Kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but in order to guard againſt the imputation of impiety, to which ſuch a violation of ſo many ſacred edifices, as well as of the aſhes of the dead might expoſe him, he executed this with much religious ceremony. Having ordered all the holy veſtments and utenſils, together with the bones of the Kings, and other perſons depoſited in theſe churches

churches to be removed, they were carried in ſolemn proceſſion to a church within the walls, he himſelf walking before them uncovered, with a torch in his hand. He then pulled down ſuch houſes as ſtood near the walls, cleared and enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was neceſſary that all theſe works ſhould be finiſhed with the utmoſt expedition, he laboured at them with his own hands: the officers and voluntiers imitated his example, and the ſoldiers ſubmitted with chearfulneſs to the moſt ſevere fatigues, when they ſaw that their ſuperiors did not decline to bear a part in theſe together with them. At the ſame time he compelled all uſeleſs perſons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with proviſions and military ſtores; burnt the mills; and deſtroyed the corn and forage for ſeveral miles round the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his arts of acquiring an aſcendant over the minds of men, that the citizens ſeconded him with no leſs ardour than the ſoldiers; and every other paſſion being ſwallowed up in the zeal to repulſe the enemy, with which he inſpired them, they beheld the ruin of their eſtates, together with the havock which he made among their publick and private buildings, without any emotion of reſentment[c].

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MEANTIME the Emperor, having collected all his forces, continued his march towards Metz. As he paſſed through the cities on the Rhine, he ſaw the diſmal effects of that licentious and waſteful war which Albert had carried on in theſe parts. Upon his approach, that Prince, though at the head of twenty thouſand men, withdrew into Lorrain as if he had intended to

Charles advances towards Metz.

[c] Thuan. xi. 387.

join

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join the French King, whoſe arms he had quartered with his own in all his ſtandards and enſigns. Albert was not in a condition to cope with the Imperial troops [d], which amounted at leaſt to ſixty thouſand men, forming one of the moſt numerous and beſt appointed armies that had been brought into the field during that age in any of the wars among the Chriſtian Princes.

Inveſts the towns.

THE chief command under the Emperor, was committed to the Duke of Alva, aſſiſted by the Marquis de Marignano, together with the moſt experienced of the Italian and Spaniſh generals. As it was towards the end of October, theſe intelligent officers repreſented the great danger of beginning, at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon, a ſiege which could not fail to prove very tedious. But Charles adhered to his own opinion with his uſual obſtinacy, and being confident that he had made ſuch preparations, and taken ſuch precautions, as would enſure ſucceſs, he ordered the city to be inveſted. As ſoon as the Duke of Alva appeared, a large body of the French ſallied out and attacked his van guard with great vigour, put it in confuſion, and killed or took priſoners a conſiderable number of men. By this early ſpecimen which they gave of the conduct of their officers, as well as the valour of their troops, they ſhewed the Imperialiſts what an enemy they had to encounter, and how dear every advantage muſt coſt them. The place, however, was compleatly inveſted, the trenches were opened and the other works begun.

Oct. 19.

Both parties endeavour to gain Albert of Brandenburg.

THE attention both of the beſiegers and beſieged was turned for ſome time towards Albert of Brandenburgh, and they ſtrove

[d] Natal. Comitis, Hiſt. 127.

with

with emulation which ſhould gain that Prince, who ſtill hovered in the neighbourhood fluctuating in all the uncertainty of irreſolution, natural to a man, who being ſwayed by no principle, was allured different ways by contrary views of intereſt. The French tempted him with offers extremely beneficial; the Imperialiſts ſcrupled at no promiſe which they thought would make an impreſſion upon him. After much heſitation he was gained by the Emperor, from whom he expected to receive advantages, which were both more immediate and more permanent. As the French King, who began to ſuſpect his intentions, had appointed a body of troops under the Duke of Aumale, brother to the Duke of Guiſe, to watch his motions, Albert fell upon them unexpectedly with ſuch vigour that he routed them entirely, killed many of the officers, wounded Aumale himſelf, and took him priſoner. Immediately after this victory, he marched in triumph to Metz, and joined his army to that of the Emperor. Charles, in reward for this ſervice, and the great acceſſion of ſtrength which he brought him, granted Albert a pardon in form of paſt offences, and confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of the territories which he had violently uſurped during the war [e].

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Nov. 4.

The Duke of Guiſe, though deeply affected with his brother's misfortune, did not remit, in any degree, the vigour with which he defended the town. He harraſſed the beſiegers by frequent ſallies, in which his officers were ſo eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, that his authority being ſcarce ſufficient to reſtrain the impetuoſity of their courage, he was obliged at different times to ſhut the gates, and to conceal the keys, in order to prevent the Princes of the blood, and noblemen of the firſt rank, from ex-

The gallant behaviour of the Duke of Guiſe and his garriſon.

[e] Sleid. 575. Thuan. lib. xi. 389. 392.

poſing

Book XL. 1552. poſing themſelves to danger in every ſally. He repaired in the night what the enemy's artillery had beat down during the day, or erected behind the ruined works new fortifications of almoſt equal ſtrength. The Imperialiſts, on their part, puſhed on the attack with great ſpirit, and carried forward, at once, approaches againſt different parts of the town. But the art of attacking fortified places was not then arrived at that degree of perfection to which it was carried towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, during the long war in the Netherlands. The beſiegers, after the unwearied labour of many weeks, found that they had made but little progreſs; and although their batteries had made breaches in different places, they ſaw, to their aſtoniſhment, works ſuddenly appear, in demoliſhing which their fatigues and dangers would be renewed. The Emperor, enraged at the obſtinate reſiſtance which his army met with, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and though ſtill ſo infirm that he was obliged to

Nov. 26. be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp; that by his preſence he might animate the ſoldiers, and urge on the attack with greater ſpirit. Upon his arrival new batteries were erected, and new efforts made with redoubled ardour.

The diſtreſs of the Imperial army.

But, by this time, the winter had ſet in with great rigour; the camp was alternately deluged with rain or covered with ſnow; at the ſame time proviſions were become extremely ſcarce, as a body of French cavalry which hovered in the neighbourhood, often interrupted the convoys, or rendered their arrival difficult and uncertain. Diſeaſes began to ſpread among the ſoldiers, eſpecially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccuſtomed to ſuch inclement weather; great numbers were diſ-

† abled

abled from ſerving, and many died. At length, ſuch breaches were made as ſeemed practicable, and the Emperor reſolved to hazard a general aſſault, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of his generals concerning the imprudence of attacking a numerous garriſon, conducted and animated by the moſt gallant of the French nobility, with an army weakened by diſeaſes, and diſheartened with ill ſucceſs. The Duke of Guiſe, ſuſpecting his intentions from the extraordinary hurry which he obſerved in the enemy's camp, ordered all his troops to their reſpective poſts. They appeared immediately on the walls, and behind the breaches, with ſuch a determined countenance, ſo eager for the combat, and ſo well prepared to give the aſſailants a warm reception, that the Imperialiſts, inſtead of advancing to the charge when the word of command was given, ſtood motionleſs, in a timid dejected ſilence. The Emperor perceiving that he could not truſt troops whoſe ſpirits were ſo much broken, retired abruptly to his quarters, complaining that he was now deſerted by his ſoldiers, who deſerved no longer the name of men[a]. BOOK XI. 1552.

DEEPLY as this behaviour of his troops mortified and affected him, Charles would not hear of abandoning the ſiege, though he ſaw the neceſſity of changing the method of attack. He ſuſpended the fury of his batteries, and propoſed to proceed by the more ſecure but tedious method of ſapping. But as it ſtill continued to rain or to ſnow almoſt inceſſantly, ſuch as were employed in this ſervice endured incredible hardſhips; and the duke of Guiſe, whoſe induſtry was not inferior to his valour, diſcovering all their mines, counter-worked them, and prevented their effect. At laſt, Charles finding it impoſſible to contend any longer with

The Emperor changes the method of attack.

[a] Thuan. 397.

Book XI. 1552. with the rigour of the ſeaſon, and with enemies whom he could neither overpower by force, nor ſubdue by art, while at the ſame time a contagious diſtemper raged among his troops, and cut off daily great numbers of the officers as well as ſoldiers, yielded to the ſollicitations of his generals, who conjured him to ſave the remains of his army by a timely retreat; "Fortune," ſays he, "I now perceive, reſembles other females, and chuſes to confer her favours on young men, while ſhe forſakes thoſe who are advanced in years."

Dec. 26. Obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

UPON this, he gave orders immediately to raiſe the ſiege, and ſubmitted to the diſgrace of abandoning the enterprize, after having continued fifty-ſix days before the town, during which time he had loſt upwards of thirty thouſand men, who died of diſeaſes, or were killed by the enemy. The duke of Guiſe, as ſoon as he perceived the intention of the Imperialiſts, took meaſures to prevent their retiring unmoleſted, and ſent out ſeveral bodies both of cavalry and infantry to infeſt their rear, to pick up ſtragglers, and to ſeize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such was the confuſion with which they made their retreat, that the French might have annoyed them in the moſt cruel manner. But when they ſallied out, a ſpectacle preſented itſelf to their view, which extinguiſhed at once all hoſtile rage, and melted them into tenderneſs and compaſſion. The Imperial camp was filled with the ſick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired numbers were found, who having made an effort beyond their ſtrength to eſcape, were left, when they could go no farther, to periſh without aſſiſtance. This they received from their enemies, and were indebted to them for

Ruin of the Imperial army, and humanity of the French.

all

1552.

all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The duke of Guiſe immediately ordered proper refreſhments for ſuch as were dying of hunger; he appointed ſurgeons to attend the ſick and wounded; he removed ſuch as could bear it into the adjacent villages; and thoſe who would have ſuffered by being carried ſo far, he admitted into the hoſpitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own ſoldiers. As ſoon as they recovered he ſent them home, under an eſcort of ſoldiers, and with money to bear their charges. By theſe acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancour and ferocity than at preſent, the duke of Guiſe completed the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and ſucceſsful defence of Metz, and engaged thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name [b].

Bad ſituation of the Emperor's affairs in Italy.

To theſe calamities in Germany, were added ſuch unfortunate events in Italy, as rendered this the moſt diſaſtrous year in the Emperor's life. During his reſidence at Villach, Charles had applied to Coſmo de Medici for the loan of two hundred thouſand crowns. But his credit at that time was ſo low, that in order to obtain this inconſiderable ſum, he was obliged to put him in poſſeſſion of the principality of Piombino, and by giving up that he loſt the footing which he had hitherto maintained in Tuſcany, and enabled Coſmo to aſſume, for the future, the tone and deportment of a Prince altogether independant. Much about the time that his indigence conſtrained him to part with

[b] Sleid. 575. Thuan. lib. xi. 389, &c. Pere Daniel, Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. 392. Pere Daniel's account of this ſiege is taken from the journal of the Sieur de Salignac, who was preſent. Natal. Comit. Hiſtor. 129.

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this valuable territory, he loſt Siena, which was of ſtill greater conſequence, through the ill conduct of Don Diego de Mendoza [c].

The revolt of Siena.

SIENA, like moſt of the great cities in Italy, had long enjoyed a republican government, under the protection of the Empire; but being torn in pieces by the diſſenſions between the nobles and the people, which divided all the Italian commonwealths, the faction of the people, which gained the aſcendant, beſought the Emperor to become the guardian of the adminiſtration which they had eſtabliſhed, and admitted into their city a ſmall body of Spaniſh ſoldiers, whom he had ſent to countenance the execution of the laws, and to preſerve tranquillity among them. The direction of theſe troops was given to Mendoza, at that time ambaſſador for the Emperor at Rome, who perſuaded the credulous multitude, that it was neceſſary for their ſecurity againſt any future attempt of the nobles, to allow him to build a citadel in Siena; and as he flattered himſelf that by means of this fortreſs he might render the Emperor maſter of the city, he puſhed on the works with all poſſible diſpatch. But he threw off the maſk too ſoon. Before the fortifications were compleated, he began to indulge his natural haughtineſs and ſeverity of temper, and to treat the citizens with great inſolence. At the ſame time the ſoldiers in garriſon being paid as irregularly as the Emperor's troops uſually were, lived almoſt at diſcretion upon the inhabitants, and were guilty of many acts of licence and oppreſſion.

The Sieneſe court the aſſiſtance of France.

THESE injuries awakened the Sieneſe to a ſenſe of their danger. As they ſaw the neceſſity of exerting themſelves, while the

[c] Thuan. lib. xi. 376.

unfiniſhed

unfiniſhed fortifications of the citadel left them any hopes of ſucceſs, they applied to the French ambaſſador at Rome, who readily promiſed them his maſter's protection and aſſiſtance. At the ſame time, forgetting their domeſtic animoſities when ſuch a mortal blow was aimed at the liberty and exiſtence of the republick, they ſent agents to the exiled nobles, and invited them to concur with them in ſaving their country from the ſervitude with which it was threatened. As there was not a moment to loſe, meaſures were concerted ſpeedily, but with great prudence; and were executed with equal vigour. The citizens roſe ſuddenly in arms; the exiles flocked into the town from different parts with all their partizans, and what troops they could draw together; and ſeveral bodies of mercenaries in the pay of France appeared to ſupport them. The Spaniards, though ſurprized, and much inferior in number, defended themſelves with great courage; but ſeeing no proſpect of relief, and having no hopes of maintaining their ſtation long in a half-finiſhed fortreſs, they ſoon gave it up. The Sieneſe, with the utmoſt alacrity, levelled it with the ground, that no monument might remain of that odious ſtructure, which had been raiſed in order to enſlave them. At the ſame time renouncing all connection with the Emperor, they ſent ambaſſadors to thank the King of France as the reſtorer of their liberty, and to intreat that he would ſecure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that bleſſing by continuing his protection to their republick[a]. BOOK XI. 1552.

To theſe misfortunes, one ſtill more fatal had almoſt ſucceeded. The ſevere adminiſtration of Don Pedro de Toledo, Deſcent of the Turks in the kingdom of Naples.

[a] Pecci Memorie de Siena, vol. iii. p. 230, 261. Thuan. 375, 377, &c. Paruta. Hiſt. Venet. 267. Mem. de Ribier, 424, &c.

8 viceroy,

BOOK XI. 1552. viceroy of Naples, having filled that kingdom with murmuring and diſaffection, the Prince of Salerno, the head of the malecontents, had fled to the court of France, where all who bore ill-will to the Emperor or his miniſters, were ſure of finding protection and aſſiſtance. That nobleman, in the uſual ſtile of exiles, boaſting much of his partizans, and of his great influence with them, prevailed on Henry to think of invading Naples, from expectation of being joined by all thoſe with whom the Prince of Salerno held correſpondence, or who were diſſatisfied with Toledo's government. But though the firſt hint of this enterprize was ſuggeſted by the Prince of Salerno, Henry did not chuſe that its ſucceſs ſhould entirely depend upon his being able to fulfil the promiſes which he had made. He applied for aid to Soliman, whom he courted, after his father's example, as his moſt vigorous auxiliary againſt the Emperor, and ſollicited him to ſecond his operations by ſending a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean. It was not difficult to obtain what he requeſted of the Sultan, who, at this time, was highly incenſed againſt the houſe of Auſtria, on account of their proceedings in Hungary. He ordered an hundred and fifty ſhips to be equipped, that they might ſail towards the coaſt of Naples, at whatever time Henry ſhould name, and might co-operate with the French troops in their attempts upon that kingdom. The command of this fleet was given to the corſair Dragut, an officer trained up under Barbaroſſa, and ſcarce inferior to his maſter in courage, in talents, or in good fortune. He appeared on the coaſt of Calabria at the time which had been agreed on, landed at ſeveral places, plundered and burnt ſeveral villages; and at laſt caſting anchor in the bay of Naples, filled that city with conſternation. But as the French fleet, detained by ſome accident, which the contemporary hiſtorians have not explained, did not join the Turks according to concert, they, after

waiting twenty days, without hearing any tidings of it, ſet ſail for Conſtantinople, and thus delivered the viceroy of Naples from the terror of an invaſion, which he was in no condition to have reſiſted *. 1552.

As the French had never given ſo ſevere a check to the Emperor in any former campaign, they expreſſed immoderate joy at the ſucceſs of their arms. Charles himſelf, accuſtomed to a long ſeries of proſperity, felt the blow moſt ſenſibly, and retired from Metz into the Low-Countries, much dejected with the cruel reverſe of fortune which affected him in his declining age, when the violence of the gout had increaſed to ſuch a pitch, as entirely broke the vigour of his conſtitution, and rendered him peeviſh, difficult of acceſs, and often incapable of applying to buſineſs. But whenever he enjoyed any interval of eaſe, all his thoughts were bent on revenge; and he deliberated, with the utmoſt ſollicitude, concerning the moſt proper means of annoying France, and of effacing the ſtain which had obſcured the reputation and glory of his arms. All the ſchemes concerning Germany, which had engroſſed him ſo long, being diſconcerted by the peace of Paſſau, the affairs of the Empire became only ſecondary objects of attention; and enmity to France was the predominant paſſion which chiefly occupied his mind. 1553. The Emperor ſenſibly affected with the ſtate of his affairs.

The turbulent ambition of Albert of Brandenburgh excited violent commotions, which diſturbed the Empire during this year. That Prince's troops having ſhared in the calamities of the ſiege of Metz, were greatly reduced in number. But the Emperor, prompted by gratitude for his diſtinguiſhed ſervices The violent proceedings of Albert of Brandenburgh.

* Thuan. 375, 380. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 403. Gianene.

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on that occaſion, or perhaps with a ſecret view of fomenting diviſions among the Princes of the Empire, having paid up all the money due to him, he was enabled with that ſum to hire ſo many of the ſoldiers diſmiſſed from the Imperial army, that he was ſoon at the head of a body of men as numerous as ever. The biſhops of Bamberg and Wurtzburg having ſollicited the Imperial chamber to annul, by its authority, the iniquitous conditions which Albert had compelled them to ſign, that court unanimouſly found all their engagements with him to be void in their own nature, becauſe they had been extorted by force; enjoined Albert to renounce all claim to the performance of them; and exhorted all the Princes of the Empire, if he ſhould perſiſt in ſuch an unjuſt demand, to take arms againſt him as a diſturber of the publick tranquillity. To this deciſion Albert oppoſed the confirmation of his tranſactions with the two prelates, which the Emperor had granted him as the reward of his having joined the Imperial army at Metz; and in order to intimidate his antagoniſts, and to convince them of his reſolution not to relinquiſh his pretenſions, he put his troops in motion, that he might ſecure the territory in queſtion. Various endeavours were employed, and many expedients propoſed, in order to prevent the kindling a new war in Germany. But the ſame warmth of temper which rendered Albert turbulent and enterprizing, inſpiring him with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs, even in his wildeſt undertakings, he diſdainfully rejected all reaſonable overtures of accommodation.

He is condemned by the Imperial Chamber.

Upon this, the Imperial chamber iſſued its decree againſt him, and required the Elector of Saxony, together with ſeveral other Princes mentioned by name, to take arms in order to carry

carry it into execution. Maurice and thoſe aſſociated with him were not unwilling to undertake this ſervice. They were extremely ſollicitous to maintain publick order by ſupporting the authority of the Imperial chamber, and ſaw the neceſſity of giving a timely check to the uſurpations of an ambitious Prince who had no principle of action but regard to his own intereſt, and no motive to direct him but the impulſe of ungovernable paſſions. They had good reaſon, to ſuſpect that the Emperor encouraged Albert in his extravagant and irregular proceedings, and ſecretly afforded him aſſiſtance, that by raiſing him up to rival Maurice in power, he might in any future broil make uſe of his aſſiſtance to counterbalance and controul the authority which the other had acquired in the Empire [f].

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April 2. A confederacy formed againſt him, of which Maurice was head.

These conſiderations united the moſt powerful Princes in Germany in a league againſt Albert, of which Maurice was declared generaliſſimo. This formidable confederacy, however, wrought no change in Albert's ſentiments; but as he knew that he could not reſiſt ſo many Princes, if he ſhould allow them time to aſſemble their forces, he endeavoured, by his activity, to deprive them of all the advantage which they might derive from their united power and numbers; and for that reaſon marched directly againſt Maurice, the enemy whom he dreaded moſt. It was happy for the allies, that the conduct of their affairs was committed to a Prince of ſuch abilities. He by his authority and example had inſpired them with vigour, and having carried on their preparations with a degree of rapidity, of which confederate bodies are ſeldom capable, he was in condi-

[f] Sleid. 585. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 442. Arnoldi. vita Maurit. ap. Menken. ii. 1242.

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tion to face Albert before he could make any conſiderable progreſs.

He attacks Albert.

THEIR armies, which were nearly equal in number, each conſiſting of twenty four thouſand men, met at Sieverhauſen in the dutchy of Lunenburgh; and the violent animoſity againſt each other, which poſſeſſed the two leaders, did not ſuffer them to continue long inactive. The troops inflamed with the ſame hoſtile rage marched fiercely to the combat; they fought with the greateſt obſtinacy; and as both generals were capable of availing themſelves of every favourable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At laſt victory declared for Maurice, who was ſuperior in cavalry, and Albert's army fled in confuſion, leaving four thouſand dead in the field, and their camp, baggage and artillery, in the hands of the conquerors. The allies bought their victory dear, their beſt troops ſuffered greatly, two ſons of the Duke of Brunſwick, a Duke of Lunenburgh, and many other perſons of diſtinction were among the number of the ſlain [a]. But all theſe were ſoon forgotten, for Maurice himſelf, as he led up to a ſecond charge a body of horſe which had been broken, received a wound with a piſtol bullet in the belly, of which he died two days after the battle, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, and in the ſixth after his attaining the electoral dignity.

July 9.

And defeats his army.

But is killed in the battle.

[a] Hiſtoria pugnæ infelicis inter Maurit. & Albert. Thom. Wintzero auctore apud Scard. ii. 559. Sleid. 583. Ruſcelli epiſtres aux Princes 154. Arnoldi vita Maurit. 1245.

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1553.
His character.

Of all the perſonages who have appeared in the hiſtory of this active age, when great occurrences, and ſudden revolutions, called forth extraordinary talents to view, and afforded them full opportunity to diſplay themſelves, Maurice may juſtly be conſidered as the moſt remarkable. If his exorbitant ambition, his profound diſſimulation, and his unwarrantable uſurpation of his kinſman's honours and dominions exclude him from being praiſed as a virtuous man; his prudence in concerting his meaſures, his vigour in executing them, and the uniform ſucceſs with which they were attended, entitle him to the appellation of a great Prince. At an age, when impetuoſity of ſpirit commonly predominates over political wiſdom, when the higheſt effort even of a genius of the firſt order is to fix on a bold ſcheme, and to execute it with promptitude and courage, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy, which deceived the moſt artful Monarch in Europe. At the very juncture when the Emperor had attained almoſt unlimited deſpotiſm, Maurice, with power ſeemingly inadequate to ſuch an undertaking, compelled him to relinquiſh all his uſurpations, and eſtabliſhed not only the religious but civil liberties of Germany on ſuch foundations as have hitherto remained unſhaken. Although at one period of his life, his conduct excited the jealouſy of the Proteſtants, and at another drew on him the reſentment of the Roman Catholicks, ſuch was his maſterly addreſs, that he was the only Prince of the age, who in any degree poſſeſſed the confidence of both, and whom both lamented as the moſt able as well as faithful guardian of the conſtitution and laws of his country.

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THE conſternation which Maurice's death occaſioned among his troops, prevented them from making the proper improvement of the victory which they had gained. Albert, whoſe active courage, and profuſe liberality rendered him the darling of ſuch military adventurers as were little ſollicitous about the juſtice of his cauſe, ſoon re-aſſembled his broken forces, and made freſh levies with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was quickly at the head of fifteen thouſand men, and renewed his depredations with additional fury. But Henry of Brunſwick having taken the command of the allied troops, defeated him in a ſecond battle ſcarce leſs bloody than the former. Even then his courage did not ſink, nor were his reſources exhauſted. He made ſeveral efforts, and ſome of them very vigorous, to retrieve his affairs: But, being laid under the ban of the Empire by the Imperial chamber; being driven by degrees out of all his hereditary territories, as well as thoſe which he had uſurped; being forſaken by many of his officers, and overpowered by the number of his enemies, he fled for refuge into France. After having been, for a conſiderable time, the terror and ſcourge of Germany, he lingered out a few years in an indigent and dependant ſtate of exile, the miſeries of which his reſtleſs and arrogant ſpirit endured with the moſt indignant impatience. Upon his death without iſſue, his territories, which had been ſeized by the Princes who took arms againſt him, were reſtored, by a decree of the Emperor, to his collateral heirs of the houſe of Brandenburgh [h].

Albert continues the war.

Sept. 12.

He is driven out of Germany.

January 12, 1557.

Maurice's brother Auguſtus ſucceeds him in the electoral dignity.

MAURICE, having left only one daughter, who was afterwards married to William Prince of Orange, by whom ſhe had

[h] Sleid. 592. 594. 599. Struv. Corp. hiſt. Germ. 1075.

a ſon

a ſon who bore his grandfather's name, and inherited the great talents for which he was conſpicuous, a violent diſpute aroſe concerning the ſucceſſion to his honours and territories. John Frederick, the degraded Elector, claimed the electoral dignity, and that part of his patrimonial eſtate, of which he had been violently ſtripped after the Smalkaldic war. Auguſtus, Maurice's only brother, pleaded his right not only to the hereditary poſſeſſions of their family, but to the electoral dignity and to the territories which Maurice had acquired. As Auguſtus was a Prince of conſiderable abilities, as well as of great candour and gentleneſs of manners, the States of Saxony, forgetting the merits and ſufferings of their former maſter, declared warmly in his favour. His pretenſions were powerfully ſupported by the King of Denmark whoſe daughter he had married, and zealouſly eſpouſed by the King of the Romans out of regard to Maurice's memory. The degraded Elector, though ſecretly favoured by his ancient enemy the Emperor, was at laſt obliged to relinquiſh his claim, upon obtaining a ſmall addition to the territories which had been allotted to him, together with a ſtipulation, ſecuring to his family the eventual ſucceſſion, upon a failure of male heirs in the Albertine line. That unfortunate but magnanimous Prince died next year, ſoon after ratifying this treaty of agreement; and the electoral dignity is ſtill poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of Auguſtus [1].

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DURING theſe tranſactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low-Countries with conſiderable vigour. The Emperor, impatient to efface the ſtain which his ignominious repulſe at Metz left upon his military reputation, had an army early in

Hoſtilities in the Low-Countries.

[1] Sleid. 587. Thuan. 409. Struv. Corp. hiſt. Germ.

Book XI. 1553. the field, and laid ſiege to Terouane. Though the town was of ſuch importance that Francis uſed to call it one of the two pillows on which a King of France might ſleep with ſecurity, the fortifications were in diſrepair: Henry, truſting to what had happened at Metz, thought nothing more was neceſſary to render all the efforts of the enemy abortive, than to reinforce the garriſon with a conſiderable number of the young nobility. But d'Eſſe, a veteran officer who commanded them, being killed, and the Imperialiſts puſhing the ſiege with great vigour and perſeverance, the place was taken by aſſault. That it might not
June 21. fall again into the hands of the French, Charles ordered not only the fortifications but the town to be raſed, and the inhabitants to be diſperſed in the adjacent cities. Elated with this ſucceſs, the Imperialiſts immediately inveſted Heſdin, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewiſe taken by aſſault, and ſuch of the garriſon as eſcaped the ſword were made priſoners. The Emperor entruſted the conduct of this ſiege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy Prince of Piedmont, who, on that occaſion, gave the firſt diſplay of his great talents for military command, which ſoon entitled him to be ranked among the firſt generals of that age, and facilitated his re-eſtabliſhment in his hereditary dominions, the greater part of which having been over-run by Francis in his expeditions into Italy, were ſtill occupied by Henry [k].

The progreſs of the Imperialiſts diſquiets the French King.

THE loſs of theſe towns, together with ſo many perſons of diſtinction, either killed or taken by the enemy, was no inconſiderable calamity to France, and Henry felt it very ſenſibly; but he

[k] Thuan. 411. Haræi Annales Brabant, 669.

was ſtill more mortified at the Emperor's having aſſumed his wonted ſuperiority in the field ſo ſoon after the blow at Metz, which the French had repreſented as fatal to his power. He was aſhamed, too, of his own remiſſneſs and exceſſive ſecurity at the opening of the campaign; and in order to repair that error, he aſſembled a numerous army, and led it into the Low-Countries. BOOK XII. 1553.

ROUZED at the approach of ſuch a formidable enemy, Charles left Bruſſels, where he had been ſhut up ſo cloſely during ſeven months, that it came to be believed in many parts of Europe that he was dead; and though he was ſo much debilitated by the gout that he could ſcarce bear the motion of a litter, he haſtened to join his army. The eyes of all Europe were turned with expectation towards theſe mighty and exaſperated rivals, between whom a deciſive battle was now thought unavoidable. But Charles having prudently declined to hazard a general engagement, and the violence of the autumnal rains rendering it impoſſible for the French to undertake any ſiege, they retired without having performed any thing ſuitable to the great preparations which they had made [1].

THE Imperial arms did not make the ſame progreſs in Italy. The narrowneſs of the Emperor's finances ſeldom allowed him to act with vigour in two different places at the ſame time; and having exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to make a great effort in the Low-Countries, his operations on the other ſide of the Alps were proportionally feeble. The viceroy of The Imperialiſts unſucceſsful in Italy.

1 Haræus 672. Thuan. 414.

Naples,

Book XI. 1553. Naples, in conjunction with Coſmo di Medici, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Siena, endeavoured to become maſter of that city. But inſtead of reducing the Sieneſe, the Imperialiſts were obliged to retire abruptly, in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkiſh fleet, which threatened the coaſt of Naples; and the French not only eſtabliſhed themſelves more firmly in Tuſcany, but, by the aſſiſtance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the iſland of Corſica, ſubject, at that time, to the Genoeſe [m].

And in Hungary. THE affairs of the houſe of Auſtria declined no leſs in Hungary during the courſe of this year. As the troops which Ferdinand kept in Tranſylvania received their pay very irregularly, they lived almoſt at diſcretion upon the inhabitants; and their inſolence and rapaciouſneſs greatly diſguſted all ranks of men, and alienated them from their new ſovereign, who, inſtead of protecting, plundered his ſubjects. Their indignation at this, added to their deſire of revenging Martinuzzi's death, wrought ſo much upon a turbulent nobility, impatient of injury, and upon a fierce people, prone to change, that they were ripe for a revolt. At that very juncture, their late Queen Iſabella, together with her ſon, appeared in Tranſylvania. Her ambitious mind could not bear the ſolitude and inactivity of a private life; and repenting quickly of the ceſſion which ſhe had made of the crown in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-one, ſhe left the place of her retreat, hoping that the diſſatisfaction of the Hungarians with the Auſtrian government, would prompt them to recognize once more her ſon's right to the crown. Some

[m] Thuan. 417.

noblemen

noblemen of great eminence declared immediately in his favour. The Baſhaw of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, eſpouſed his cauſe in oppoſition to Ferdinand; the Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, inſtead of advancing againſt the enemy, mutinied for want of pay, declaring that they would march back to Vienna; ſo that Caſtaldo, their general, was obliged to abandon Tranſylvania to Iſabella and the Turks, and to place himſelf at the head of the mutineers, that by his authority he might reſtrain them from plundering the Auſtrian territories, through which they paſſed [n]. BOOK XI. 1553.

Ferdinand obliged to abandon Tranſylvania.

FERDINAND's attention was turned ſo entirely towards the affairs of Germany, and his treaſures ſo much exhauſted by his late efforts in Hungary, that he made no attempt to recover this valuable province, although a favourable opportunity for that purpoſe preſented itſelf, as Solyman was then engaged in a war with Perſia, and involved beſides in domeſtick calamities which engroſſed and diſturbed his mind. Solyman, though diſtinguiſhed, by many accompliſhments, from the other Ottoman Princes, had all the paſſions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, ſudden and furious in his anger, and ſuſceptible of all that rage of love, which reigns in the Eaſt, and often produces the wildeſt and moſt tragical effects. His favourite miſtreſs was a Circaſſian ſlave of exquiſite beauty, who bore him a ſon called Muſtapha, whom, both on account of his birth-right and merit, he deſtined to be the heir of his crown. Roxalana, a Ruſſian captive, ſoon ſupplanted the Circaſſian, and gained the Sultan's heart. Having the addreſs to retain the conqueſt which ſhe had made, ſhe kept poſſeſſion of his love without any rival for many years,

Solyman's domeſtick diſtreſſes.

The tragical hiſtory of his ſon Muſtapha.

[n] Thuan. 430.

BOOK XI. 1553. during which ſhe brought him ſeveral ſons and one daughter. All the happineſs, however, which ſhe derived from the unbounded ſway that ſhe had acquired over a monarch whom one half of the world revered or dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Muſtapha's acceſſion to the throne, and the certain death of her ſons, who ſhe foreſaw would be immediately ſacrificed, according to the barbarous jealouſy of Turkiſh policy, to the ſafety of the new Emperor. By dwelling continually on this melancholy idea, ſhe came gradually to view Muſtapha as the enemy of her children, and to hate him with more than a ſtep-mother's ill-will. This prompted her to wiſh his deſtruction, in order to ſecure for one of her own ſons the throne which was deſtined for him. Nor did ſhe want either ambition to attempt ſuch a high enterprize, or the arts requiſite for carrying it into execution. Having prevailed on the Sultan to give her only daughter in marriage to Ruſtan the Grand Viſier, ſhe diſcloſed her ſcheme to that crafty miniſter, who perceiving that it was his own intereſt to co-operate with her, readily promiſed his aſſiſtance towards aggrandizing that branch of the royal line, to which he was now ſo nearly allied.

As ſoon as Roxalana had concerted her meaſures with this able confident, ſhe began to affect a wonderful zeal for the Mahometan religion, to which Solyman was ſuperſtitiouſly attached, and propoſed to found and endow a royal moſque, a work of great expence, but deemed by the Turks meritorious in the higheſt degree. The Mufti whom ſhe conſulted approved much of her pious intention; but, having been gained and inſtructed by Ruſtan, told her that ſhe being a ſlave could derive no benefit herſelf from that holy deed, for all the merit of

it would accrue to Solyman the maſter whoſe property ſhe was. Upon this ſhe ſeemed to be overwhelmed with ſorrow, and to ſink into the deepeſt melancholy, as if ſhe had been diſguſted with life and all its enjoyments. Solyman, who was abſent with the army, being informed of this dejection of mind, and of the cauſe from which it proceeded, diſcovered all the ſollicitude of a lover to remove it, and by a writing under his hand declared her a free woman. Roxalana having gained this point, proceeded to build the Moſque, and re-aſſumed her uſual chearfulneſs and gaiety of ſpirit. But when Solyman, on his return to Conſtantinople, ſent an eunuch, according to the cuſtom of the ſeraglio, to bring her to partake of his bed, ſhe, ſeemingly with deep regret, but in the moſt peremptory manner, declined to follow the eunuch, declaring that what had been an honour to her while a ſlave, became a crime as ſhe was now a free woman, and that ſhe would not involve either the Sultan or herſelf in the guilt that muſt be contracted by ſuch an open violation of the law of their prophet. Solyman, whoſe paſſion this difficulty, as well as the affected delicacy which gave riſe to it, heightened and inflamed, had recourſe immediately to the Mufti for his direction. He replied, agreeably to the Koran, that Roxalana's ſcruples were well founded, but added, artfully, in words which Ruſtan had taught him to uſe, that it was in the Sultan's power to remove theſe difficulties by eſpouſing her as his lawful wife. The amorous monarch cloſed eagerly with the propoſal, and ſolemnly married her according to the form of the Mahometan ritual; though by doing ſo he diſregarded a maxim of policy which the pride of the Ottoman blood had taught all the ſultans ſince Bajazet I. to conſider as inviolable. From his time, none of the Turkiſh monarchs had married, becauſe when he was van-

BOOK XI. 1553. quiſhed and taken priſoner by Tamerlane, his wife had been abuſed with barbarous inſolence by the Tartars. That no ſimilar calamity might ſubject the Ottoman family to the like diſgrace, the ſultans admitted none to their bed but ſlaves whoſe diſhonour could not bring any ſuch ſtain upon their houſe.

BUT the more uncommon the ſtep was, the more it convinced Roxalana of the unbounded influence which ſhe had acquired over the Sultan's heart; and emboldened her to proſecute, with greater hope of ſucceſs, the ſcheme that ſhe had formed in order to deſtroy Muſtapha. This young Prince having been entruſted by his father, according to the practice of the ſultans in that age, with the government of ſeveral different provinces, was at that time inveſted with the adminiſtration in Diarbequir, the ancient Meſopotamia, which Solyman had wreſted from the Perſians, and added to his empire. In all theſe different commands, Muſtapha had conducted himſelf with ſuch cautious prudence as could give no offence to his father, though, at the ſame time, he governed with ſo much moderation as well as juſtice, and diſplayed ſuch valour and generoſity as rendered him equally the favourite of the people and the darling of the ſoldiery.

THERE was no room to lay any folly or vice to his charge, that could impair the high opinion which his father entertained of him. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined; ſhe turned his virtues againſt him, and made uſe of theſe as engines for his deſtruction. She often mentioned, in Solyman's preſence, the ſplendid qualities of his ſon; ſhe celebrated his courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praiſe. As ſoon as ſhe perceived that the Sultan heard theſe

encomiums,

encomiums, which were often repeated, with uneaſineſs; that ſuſpicion of his ſon began to mingle itſelf with his former eſteem of him; and that by degrees he came to view him with jealouſy and fear, ſhe introduced, as by accident, ſome diſcourſe concerning the rebellion of his father Selim againſt Bajazet his grandfather; ſhe took notice of the bravery of the veteran troops under Muſtapha's command, and of the neighbourhood of Diarbequir to the territories of the Perſian Sophi, Solyman's mortal enemy. By theſe arts, whatever remained of paternal tenderneſs was entirely extinguiſhed, and ſuch paſſions were kindled in his breaſt as gave all Roxalana's malignant ſuggeſtions the colour not only of probability but of truth. A deep-rooted hatred ſucceeded, now, to his ſuſpicions and fear of Muſtapha. He appointed ſpies to obſerve and report all his words and actions; he watched and ſtood on his guard againſt him as his moſt dangerous enemy.

HAVING thus alienated the Sultan's heart from Muſtapha, Roxalana ventured on another ſtep, and entreated Solyman to allow her own ſons the liberty of appearing at court, hoping that by gaining acceſs to their father, they might, by their good qualities and dutiful deportment, inſinuate themſelves into that place in his affections which Muſtapha had formerly held; and, though what ſhe demanded was contrary to the practice of the Ottoman family in that age, the uxorious monarch granted her requeſt. To all theſe female intrigues Ruſtan added an artifice ſtill more ſubtle, which compleated the Sultan's deluſion, and heightened his jealouſy and fear. He wrote to the Baſhaws of the provinces adjacent to Diarbequir, inſtructing them to ſend him regular intelligence of Muſtapha's proceedings

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proceedings in his government, and to each of them he gave a private hint, flowing, in appearance from his zeal for their intereſt, that nothing would be more acceptable to the Sultan than to receive favourable accounts of a ſon whom he deſtined to ſuſtain the glory of the Ottoman name. The Baſhaws, ignorant of his fraudulent intention, and eager to pay court to their ſovereign at ſuch an eaſy price, filled their letters with ſtudied but fatal panegyricks of Muſtapha, repreſenting him as a Prince worthy to ſucceed ſuch an illuſtrious father, and as endowed with talents which might enable him to emulate, perhaps to equal his fame. Theſe letters were induſtriouſly ſhewn to Solyman, at the ſeaſons when it was known that they would make the deepeſt impreſſion. Every expreſſion in recommendation of his ſon wounded him to the heart; he ſuſpected his principal officers of being ready to favour the moſt deſperate attempts of a Prince whom they were ſo fond to praiſe; and fancying that he ſaw them already aſſaulting his throne with rebellious arms, he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow, and to ſecure his own ſafety by his ſon's death.

FOR this purpoſe, though under pretence of renewing the war againſt Perſia, he ordered Ruſtan to march towards Diarbequir at the head of a numerous army, and to rid him of a a ſon whoſe life he deemed inconſiſtent with his own ſafety. But that crafty miniſter did not chooſe to be loaded with the odium of having executed this cruel order. As ſoon as he arrived in Syria he wrote to Solyman, that the danger was ſo imminent as called for his immediate preſence; that the camp was full of Muſtapha's emiſſaries; that many of the ſoldiers were corrupted; that the affections of all leaned towards him; that he had

diſcovered

diſcovered a negociation which had been carried on with the Sophi of Perſia in order to marry Muſtapha with one of his daughters; that he already felt both his talents and his authority to be inadequate to the exigencies of ſuch an arduous conjuncture, that the Sultan alone had ſagacity to diſcern what reſolution ſhould be taken in thoſe circumſtances, and power to carry that reſolution into execution.

THIS charge of courting the friendſhip of the Sophi, Roxalana and Ruſtan had reſerved as the laſt and moſt envenomed of all their calumnies. It operated with the violence which they expected from Solyman's inveterate abhorrence of the Perſians, and threw him into the wildeſt tranſports of rage. He ſet out inſtantly for Syria, and haſtened thither with all the precipitation and impatience of fear and revenge. As ſoon as he joined his army near Aleppo, and had concerted meaſures with Ruſtan, he ſent a Chiaus or meſſenger of the court to his ſon, requiring him to repair immediately to his preſence. Muſtapha, though no ſtranger to his ſtep-mother's machinations, or to Ruſtan's malice, or to his father's violent temper, yet relying on his own innocence, and hoping to diſcredit the accuſations of his enemies by the promptitude of his obedience, followed the meſſenger without delay to Aleppo. The moment he arrived in the camp, he was introduced into the Sultan's tent. As he entered it, he obſerved nothing that could give him any alarm; no additional crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards, but the ſame order and ſilence which always reign in the Sultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, ſeveral mutes appeared, at the ſight of whom Muſtapha knowing what was his doom, cried with a loud voice, "Lo, my death!" and attempt-

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ed to fly. The mutes ruſhed forward to ſeize him, he reſiſted and ſtruggled, demanding with the utmoſt earneſtneſs to ſee the Sultan; and deſpair, together with the hope of finding protection from the ſoldiers, if he could eſcape out of the tent, animated him with ſuch extraordinary ſtrength, that, for ſome time, he baffled all the efforts of the executioners. Solyman was within hearing of his ſon's cries, as well as of the noiſe which the ſtruggle occaſioned. Impatient of this delay of his revenge, and ſtruck with terror at the thoughts of Muſtapha's eſcaping, he drew aſide the curtain which divided the tent, and thruſting in his head, darted a fierce look towards the mutes, and with wild and threatening geſtures ſeemed to chide them for ſloth and timidity. At ſight of his father's furious and unrelenting countenance, Muſtapha's ſtrength failed, and his courage forſook him; the mutes faſtened the bow-ſtring about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life.

THE dead body was expoſed before the Sultan's tent. The ſoldiers gathered round it, and contemplating that mournful object with aſtoniſhment, and ſorrow, and indignation, were ready, if a leader had not been wanting, to have broke out into the wildeſt exceſſes of rage. After giving vent to the firſt expreſſions of their grief, they retired each man to his tent, and ſhutting themſelves up, bewailed in ſecret the cruel fate of their favourite; nor was there one of them who taſted food or even water during the remainder of that day. Next morning the ſame ſolitude and ſilence reigned in the camp; and Solyman, being afraid that ſome dreadful ſtorm would follow this ſullen calm, in order to appeaſe the enraged ſoldiers, deprived Ruſtan of the ſeals, ordered him to leave the camp, and raiſed Ahmet a gallant officer,

officer much beloved in the army, to the dignity of Viſier. This change, however, was made in concert with Ruſtan himſelf; that crafty miniſter ſuggeſting it as the only expedient which could ſave himſelf or his maſter. But within a few months, when the reſentment of the ſoldiers began to ſubſide, and the name of Muſtapha to be forgotten, Achmet was ſtrangled by the Sultan's command, and Ruſtan reinſtated in the office of Viſier. Together with his former power, he reaſſumed the plan for exterminating the race of Muſtapha which he had concerted with Roxalana; and as they were afraid that an only ſon whom Muſtapha had left might grow up to avenge his death, they redoubled their activity, and by employing the ſame arts againſt him which they had practiſed againſt his father, they inſpired Solyman with the ſame fears, and prevailed on him to iſſue orders for putting to death that young innocent Prince. Theſe orders were executed, with barbarous zeal, by a eunuch, who was diſpatched to Burſa, the place where the Prince reſided; and no rival was left to diſpute the Ottoman throne with the ſons of Roxalana [o].

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Such a tragical ſcene, productive of ſo deep diſtreſs, ſeldom occurs but in the hiſtory of the great monarchies of the Eaſt, where the force of the climate works up and ſublimes all the paſſions of the human mind into the greateſt fury, and the abſolute power of ſovereigns enables them to act with uncontrouled violence; but while it paſſed in the court of Solyman and engaged his whole attention, Charles was purſuing with the utmoſt ardour a new ſcheme for aggran-

Charles projects a marriage between his ſon and Mary of England.

[o] Augerii Giſlenii Buſbequii Legationis Turcicæ Epiſtolæ iv. Franc. 1615. p. 37. Thuan. lib. 12. p. 432. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 457. Mauroceni hiſtor. Veneta, lib. vii. p. 60.

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dizing his family. About this time, Edward the ſixth of England, after a ſhort reign, in which he diſplayed ſuch virtues as filled his ſubjects with ſanguine hopes of being happy under his government, and made them bear with patience all that they ſuffered from the weakneſs, the diſſentions and the ambition of the miniſters who aſſumed the adminiſtration during his minority, was ſeized with a lingering diſtemper which threatened his life. The Emperor no ſooner received an account of this, than his ambition, always attentive to ſeize every opportunity of acquiring an increaſe of power or of territories to his ſon, he ſuggeſted the thought of adding England to his other kingdoms by the marriage of Philip with the Princeſs Mary, the heir of Edward's crown. Being apprehenſive, however, that his ſon, who was then in Spain, might decline a match with a Princeſs in her thirty-eighth year, and eleven years older than himſelf[q]; Charles determined, notwithſtanding his own age and infirmities, to make offer of himſelf as a huſband to his couſin.

To which Philip gives his conſent.

But though Mary was ſo far advanced in years, and deſtitute of every charm either of perſon or of manners that could win affection, or command eſteem, Philip, without heſitation, gave his conſent to the match propoſed by his father, and was willing, according to the uſual maxim of Princes, to ſacrifice his inclination to his ambition. In order to inſure ſucceſs, the Emperor, even before Edward's death, began to take ſuch ſteps as might facilitate it. Upon Edward's demiſe, Mary mounted the throne of England; the pretenſions of the lady Jane Gray

[q] Palav. hiſt. Concil. Trid. v. ii. c. 13. p. 150.

proving

1553.

The ſentiments of Mary and of the Engliſh with regard to it.

proving as unfortunate, as they were ill founded [r]. Charles ſent immediately a pompous embaſſy to London to congratulate Mary on her acceſſion to the throne, and to propoſe the alliance with his ſon. The Queen, dazzled with the proſpect of marrying the heir of the greateſt Monarch in Europe; fond of uniting more cloſely with her mother's family to which ſhe had been always warmly attached; and eager to ſecure the powerful aid which ſhe knew would be neceſſary towards carrying on her favourite ſcheme of re-eſtabliſhing the Romiſh religion in England, liſtened in the moſt favourable manner to the propoſal. Among her ſubjects, it met with a very different reception. Philip, it was well known, contended for all the tenets of the church of Rome with a ſanguinary zeal which exceeded the meaſure even of Spaniſh bigotry: this alarmed all the numerous partizans of the Reformation. The Caſtilian haughtineſs and reſerve were far from being acceptable to the Engliſh, who having ſeveral times ſeen their throne occupied by thoſe who were born ſubjects, had become accuſtomed to an unceremonious and familiar intercourſe with their ſovereigns. They could not think, without the utmoſt uneaſineſs, of admitting a foreign Prince to that influence in their councils, which the huſband of their Queen would naturally poſſeſs. They dreaded, both from Philip's overbearing temper, and from the maxims of the Spaniſh monarchy which he had imbibed, that he would infuſe ideas into the Queen's mind, dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and would introduce foreign troops and money into the kingdom to aſſiſt her in any attempt againſt them.

[r] Carte's hiſt. of England, iii. 287.

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The houſe of Commons remonſtrate againſt it.

FULL of theſe apprehenſions, the houſe of Commons, though in that age extremely obſequious to the will of their Monarchs, preſented a warm addreſs againſt the Spaniſh match; many pamphlets were publiſhed repreſenting the dangerous conſequences of the alliance with Spain, and deſcribing Philip's bigotry and arrogance in the moſt odious colours. But Mary, inflexible in all her reſolutions, paid no regard to the remonſtrances of her Commons, or to the ſentiments of the people. The Emperor, having ſecured, by various arts, the miniſters whom ſhe truſted moſt, they approved warmly of the match, and large ſums were remitted by him in order to gain the reſt of the council. Cardinal Pole, whom the Pope, immediately upon Mary's acceſſion, had diſpatched as his legate into England, in order to reconcile his native country to the ſee of Rome, was detained by the Emperor's command at Dillinghen, in Germany, leſt by his preſence he ſhould thwart Philip's pretenſions, and employ his intereſt in favour of his kinſman Courtnay Earl of Devonſhire, whom the Engliſh ardently wiſhed their ſovereign to chuſe for a huſband [1].

The marriage treaty concluded.

MEANWHILE, the negociation was carried forward with the greateſt rapidity, the Emperor agreeing, without heſitation, to every article in favour of England which Mary's miniſters either repreſented as neceſſary to ſoothe the people and reconcile them to the match, or that was ſuggeſted by their own fears and jealouſy of a foreign maſter. The chief articles were, that Philip during his marriage with the Queen ſhould bear
1554. January 12. the title of King of England, but the entire adminiſtra-

[1] Cart. iii. 282.

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tion of affairs, as well as the ſole diſpoſal of all revenues, offices, and benefices ſhould remain with the Queen; that the heirs of the marriage ſhould, together with the crown of England, inherit the dutchy of Burgundy and the Low-Countries; that if Prince Charles, Philip's only ſon by a former marriage, ſhould die without iſſue, his children by the Queen whether male or female ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain and all the Emperor's hereditary dominions; that before the conſummation of the marriage, Philip ſhould ſwear ſolemnly that he would retain no domeſtick who was not a ſubject of the Queen, and would bring no foreigners into the kingdom that might give umbrage to the Engliſh; that he would make no alteration in the conſtitution or laws of England; that he would not carry the Queen or any of the children born of this marriage out of the kingdom; that if the Queen ſhould die before him without iſſue, he ſhould immediately leave the crown to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of adminiſtration whatever; that England ſhould not, in conſequence of this marriage, be engaged in any war ſubſiſting between France and Spain; and that the alliance between France and England ſhould remain in full force [t].

Diſcontent and apprehenſions of the Engliſh.

BUT this treaty, though both the Emperor and Mary's miniſters employed their utmoſt addreſs in framing it ſo as to pleaſe the Engliſh, was far from quieting their fears and jealouſies. They ſaw that words and promiſes were a feeble ſecurity againſt the encroachments of an ambitious Prince, who, as ſoon as he got poſſeſſion of the power and advantages which the Queen's

[t] Rymer's Fœd. vol. xv. 377. 393. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 498.

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husband must necessarily enjoy, could easily evade any of the articles that either limited his authority or obstructed his schemes. They were convinced that the more favourable the conditions of the present treaty were to England, the more Philip would be tempted to violate them; and they dreaded that England, like Naples, Milan, and the other countries annexed to the Spanish crown, would soon feel the intolerable weight of its oppressive domination, and be constrained, as these had been, to waste its wealth and vigour in wars wherein it had no interest, and from which it could derive no advantage.

Wyat's insurrection.

These sentiments prevailed so generally that every part of the kingdom was filled with discontent at the match, and with indignation against the advisers of it. Sir Thomas Wyat, a gentleman of some note, and of good intentions towards the publick, took advantage of this, and roused the inhabitants of Kent to arms in order to save their country from a foreign yoke. Such numbers resorted in a short time to his standard; he marched to London with such rapidity; and the Queen was so utterly unprovided for defence, that the aspect of affairs was extremely threatening, and if any nobleman of distinction had joined the malecontents, or had Wyat possessed talents equal, in any degree, to the boldness of his enterprize, the insurrection must have proved fatal to Mary's power. But all his measures were concerted with so little prudence, and executed with such irresolution, that many of his followers forsook him; the rest were dispersed by an handful of men; and he himself was taken prisoner without having made any effort worthy of the cause that he had undertaken, or suitable to the ardour with which he engaged in it. He suffered the punishment due to his rashness and rebellion. The Queen's authority was confirmed and in-

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creaſed by her ſucceſs in defeating this inconſiderate attempt to abridge it. The lady Jane Gray, whoſe title the ambition of her relations had ſet up in oppoſition to the Queen's, was, notwithſtanding her youth and innocence, brought to the ſcaffold. The lady Elizabeth, the Queen's ſiſter, was obſerved with the moſt jealous attention. The treaty of marriage was ratified by the parliament.

The marriage celebrated.

PHILIP landed in England, with a magnificent retinue, celebrated his nuptials with great ſolemnity, and though he could not lay aſide his natural ſeverity and pride, or aſſume gracious and popular manners, he endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the Engliſh nobility by his extraordinary liberality. In caſe that ſhould fail of acquiring him ſuch influence in the government of the kingdom, as he aimed at obtaining, the Emperor kept a body of twelve thouſand men on the coaſt of Flanders, in readineſs to embark for England, and to ſupport him in all his enterprizes.

Mary's meaſures to overturn the Proteſtant religion in England.

EMBOLDENED by all theſe favourable circumſtances, Mary purſued the ſcheme of extirpating the Proteſtant religion out of her dominions, with the moſt precipitant zeal. The laws of Edward the ſixth in favour of the Reformation were repealed; the Proteſtant clergy ejected; all the forms and rites of the Popiſh worſhip were re-eſtabliſhed; the nation was ſolemnly abſolved from the guilt which it had contracted during the period of its apoſtacy, and was publickly reconciled to the church of Rome, by cardinal Pole, who, immediately after the Queen's marriage was permitted to continue his journey to England, and to ex-

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ercise his legantine functions with the most ample power. Not satisfied with having overturned the Protestant church, and having established her own system on its ruins, Mary insisted that all her subjects should conform to the same mode of worship which she preferred; should profess their faith in the same creed which she had approved; and abjure every practice or opinion that was deemed repugnant to either of them. Powers altogether unknown in the English constitution were vested in certain persons appointed to take cognizance of heresy, and they proceeded to exercise them with more than inquisitorial severity. The prospect of danger, however, did not intimidate the teachers of the Protestant doctrines, who believed that they were contending for truths of the utmost consequence to the happiness of mankind. They boldly avowed their sentiments, and were condemned to that cruel death which the church of Rome reserves for its enemies. This shocking punishment was inflicted with that barbarity which the rancour of false zeal alone can inspire. The English, who are inferior in humanity to no people in Europe, and remarkable for the mildness of their publick executions, beheld, with astonishment and horror, persons who had filled the most respectable stations in their church, and who were venerable on account of their age, their piety and their literature, condemned to endure torments to which even the most atrocious criminals were not subjected.

The obstacles which she had to surmount.

THIS extreme rigour did not accomplish the end at which Mary aimed. The patience and fortitude with which these martyrs for the Reformation submitted to their suffering, the heroick contempt of death expressed by persons of every rank, and

and age, and ſex, confirmed many more in the Proteſtant faith, than the threats of their enraged perſecutors could frighten into apoſtacy. The buſineſs of ſuch as were entruſted with trying of hereticks grew upon them, and appeared to be as endleſs as it was odious. The Queen's ableſt miniſters became ſenſible how impolitick as well as dangerous it was to irritate the people by the frequent ſpectacle of publick executions, which they deteſted both as unjuſt and cruel. Even Philip was ſo thoroughly convinced of her having run to an exceſs of rigour, that on this occaſion he aſſumed a part to which he was little accuſtomed, becoming an advocate for moderation and lenity [x].

The Engliſh jealous of Philip.

BUT, notwithſtanding this attempt to ingratiate himſelf with the Engliſh, they diſcovered a conſtant jealouſy and diſtruſt of all his intentions; and when ſome members who had been gained by the court ventured to move in the houſe of Commons that the nation ought to aſſiſt the Emperor the Queen's father-in-law, in his war againſt France, the propoſal was rejected with general diſſatisfaction. A motion which was made, that the parliament ſhould give its conſent that Philip might be publickly crowned as the Queen's huſband, met with ſuch a cold reception, that it was inſtantly withdrawn [y].

The French King alarmed at the match between Philip and Mary.

MEANWHILE, the King of France had obſerved the progreſs of the Emperor's negociation in England with much uneaſineſs. The great acceſſion of territories as well as reputation which his

[x] Godwin's Annals of Q. Mary ap. Kennett. v. ii. p. 329. Burnet's hiſt. of Refor. ii. 298. 305.

[y] Carte's hiſt. of England, iii. 314.

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enemy would acquire by the marriage of his ſon with the Queen of ſuch a powerful kingdom was obvious and formidable. He eaſily foreſaw that the Engliſh, notwithſtanding all their fears and precautions, would be ſoon drawn in to take part in the quarrels on the continent, and be compelled to act in ſubſerviency to the Emperor's ambitious ſchemes. For this reaſon, Henry had given it in charge to his ambaſſador at the court of London, to employ all his addreſs in order to defeat or retard the treaty of marriage; and as there was not, at that time, any Prince of the blood in France, whom he could propoſe to the Queen as a huſband, he inſtructed him to co-operate with ſuch of the Engliſh as wiſhed their ſovereign to marry one of her own ſubjects. But the Queen's ardour and precipitation, in cloſing with the firſt overtures in favour of Philip, having rendered all his endeavours ineffectual, Henry was ſo far from thinking it prudent to give any aid to the Engliſh malecontents, though earneſtly ſollicited by Wyat and their other leaders, who tempted him to take them under his protection, by offers of great advantage to France, that he commanded his ambaſſador to congratulate the Queen in the warmeſt terms upon the ſuppreſſion of the inſurrection.

His preparations for a vigorous campaign.

BUT, notwithſtanding theſe external profeſſions, he dreaded ſo much the conſequence of this alliance, which more than compenſated for all that the Emperor had loſt in Germany, that he determined to carry on his military operations both in the Low-Countries, and in Italy, with extraordinary vigour, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could ſurmount the averſion of her ſubjects to a war on the continent, and prevail on them to aſſiſt the Emperor

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Emperor either with money or troops. For this purpoſe, he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to have a numerous army early aſſembled on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and while one part of it laid waſte the open country of Artois, the main body, under the Conſtable Montmorency, advanced towards the provinces of Liege and Hainaut by the foreſt of Ardennes.

The progreſs of his arms.

THE campaign was opened with the ſiege of Mariemburgh, a town which the Queen of Hungary, the governeſs of the Low-Countries, had fortified at great expence; but, being deſtitute of a ſufficient garriſon, it ſurrendered in ſix days. Henry, elated with this ſucceſs, put himſelf at the head of his army, and inveſting Bouvines, took it by aſſault, after a ſhort reſiſtance. With equal facility he became maſter of Dinant; and then turning to the left bent his march towards the province of Artois. The vaſt ſums which the Emperor had remitted into England had ſo exhauſted his treaſury, as to render his preparations at this juncture, ſlower and more dilatory than uſual. He had no body of troops to make head againſt the French at their firſt entrance into his territories; and though he drew together all the forces in the country, in the utmoſt hurry, and gave the command of them to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number. The Prince of Savoy, however, by his activity and good conduct, made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a diſtance, and by chuſing his own poſts with ſuch ſkill as put it out of their power either to form any ſiege of conſequence or to attack him, he obliged them to fall back for want of ſubſiſtence towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country through

June 28.

The Emperor little able to obſtruct it.

Book XI. 1554. which they marched with a cruelty and licence more becoming a body of light troops than a royal army led by a great monarch.

The French inveſt Renti.

But Henry, that he might not diſmiſs his army without attempting ſome conqueſt adequate to the vaſt preparations, as well as ſanguine hopes with which he had opened the campaign, inveſted Renti, a place deemed in that age of great importance, as, by its ſituation on the confines of Artois and the Boulonnais, it covered the former province, and protected the parties which made incurſions into the latter. The town, which was ſtrongly fortified and provided with a numerous garriſon, made a gallant defence; but being warmly preſſed by a powerful army, it muſt ſoon have yielded. The Emperor, who at that time enjoyed a ſhort interval of eaſe from the gout, was ſo ſollicitous to ſave it, that, although he could bear no other motion but that of a litter, he inſtantly put himſelf at the head of his army, which having received ſeveral reinforcements was now ſtrong enough to approach the enemy. The French were eager to decide by a battle, what ſhould be the fate of Renti, and expected it from the Emperor's arrival in his camp; but Charles avoided it with great induſtry, and as he had nothing in view but to ſave the town, he hoped to accompliſh that without expoſing himſelf to the conſequences of ſuch a dangerous and doubtful event.

An action between the two armies. Aug. 13.

Notwithstanding all his precautions, a diſpute, about a poſt which both armies endeavoured to ſeize, brought on an engagement which proved almoſt general. The Duke of Guiſe, who commanded the wing of the French which ſtood the brunt

brunt of the combat, displayed valour and conduct worthy of the defender of Metz; the Imperialists after an obstinate struggle were repulsed; the French remained masters of the post in dispute, and if the Constable, either from his natural caution and slowness, or from unwillingness to support a rival whom he hated, had not delayed bringing up the main body to second the impression which Guise had made, the rout of the enemy must have been complete. The Emperor, notwithstanding the loss which he had sustained, continued in the same camp; and the French, being straitened for provisions, and finding it impossible to carry on the siege in the face of an hostile army, quitted their intrenchments. They retired openly, courting the enemy to approach, rather than shunning an engagement. BOOK XI. 1554.

BUT Charles, having gained his end, suffered them to march off unmolested. As soon as his troops entered their own country, Henry threw garisons into the frontier towns, and dismissed the rest of the army. This encouraged the Imperialists to push forward with a considerable body of troops into Picardy, and by laying waste the country with fire and sword, they endeavoured to revenge themselves for the ravages which the French had committed in Hainault and Artois [z]. But as they were not able to reduce any place of importance, they gained nothing more than the enemy had done by this cruel and inglorious method of carrying on the war. The Imperialists invade Picardy.

MEANWHILE, the arms of France were still more unsuccessful in Italy. The footing which the French had acquired in Siena occasioned much uneasiness to Cosmo di Medici the most saga- Affairs of Italy.

[z] Thuan. 460, &c. Haræi Ann. Brab. 674.

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cious and enterprizing of all the Italian Princes. He dreaded the neighbourhood of a powerful people, to whom all who favoured the ancient republican government in Florence would have recourſe, as to their natural protectors againſt that abſolute authority which the Emperor had enabled him to uſurp; he knew how odious he was to the French, on account of his attachment to the Imperial party; and he foreſaw that if they were permitted to gather ſtrength in Siena, Tuſcany would ſoon feel the effects of their reſentment. For theſe reaſons, he wiſhed with the utmoſt ſollicitude for the expulſion of the French out of the Sieneſe, before they had time to eſtabliſh themſelves thoroughly in the country, or to receive ſuch reinforcements from France as would render it dangerous to attack them. As this, however, was properly the Emperor's buſineſs, who was called by his intereſt as well as honour to diſlodge theſe formidable intruders into the heart of his dominions, Coſmo laboured to throw the whole burden of the enterprize on him; and on that account had given no aſſiſtance, during the former campaign, but by advancing ſome ſmall ſums of money towards the payment of the Imperial troops.

Coſmo di Medici's ſchemes with regard to Siena.

He negociates with the Emperor.

BUT as the defence of the Netherlands engroſſed all the Emperor's attention, and his remittances into England had drained his treaſury, it was obvious that his operations in Italy would be extremely feeble; and Coſmo plainly perceived that if he himſelf did not take part openly in the war, and act with vigour, the French would ſcarce meet with any annoyance. As his ſituation rendered this reſolution neceſſary and unavoidable, his next care was to execute it in ſuch a manner, that he might derive from it ſome other advantage, beſide that of driving the

French out of his neighbourhood. With this view, he diſpatched an envoy to Charles, and offered to declare war againſt France, and to reduce Siena at his own charges, on condition that he ſhould be repaid whatever he ſhould expend in the enterprize, and be permitted to retain all his conqueſts until his demands were fully ſatisfied. Charles to whom, at this juncture, the war againſt Siena was an intolerable burden, and who had neither expedient nor reſource that could enable him to carry it on with proper vigour, cloſed gladly with this overture; and Coſmo, well acquainted with the low ſtate of the Imperial finances, flattered himſelf that the Emperor finding it impoſſible to reimburſe him, would ſuffer him to keep quiet poſſeſſion of whatever places he ſhould conquer [a].

Enters into war with France.

FULL of theſe hopes, he made great preparations for war, and as the French King had turned the ſtrength of his arms againſt the Netherlands, he did not deſpair of aſſembling ſuch a body of men as would prove more than a ſufficient match for any force which he could bring into the field in Italy. He endeavoured to obtain aſſiſtance from the Pope, or at leaſt to ſecure his remaining neutral, by giving one of his daughters to that Pontiff's nephew. He attempted to detach the Duke of Orſini, whoſe family had been long attached to the French party, from his ancient confederates, by beſtowing on him another of his daughters; and what was of greater conſequence than either of theſe, he engaged John James Medecino, Marquis of Marignano, to take the command of his army [b]. This officer, from a very low

Gives the command of his army to Medecino.

[a] Adriani Iſtoria de ſuoi tempi, vol. i. 662.

[b] Adriani Iſtoria, vol. i. p. 663.

condition

Book XI. 1554. condition in life, had raiſed himſelf, through all the ranks of ſervice, to high command, and had diſplayed talents and acquired reputation in war, which entitled him to be placed on a level with the greateſt generals of that martial age. Having attained a ſtation of eminence ſo diſproportionate to his birth, he laboured with a fond ſollicitude to conceal his original obſcurity, by giving out that he was deſcended of the family of Medici, to which honour the caſual reſemblance of his name was his only pretenſion. Coſmo, happy that he could gratify him at ſuch an eaſy rate, flattered his vanity in this point, acknowledged him as a relation, and permitted him to aſſume the arms of his family: Medecino, eager to ſerve the head of that family of which he now conſidered himſelf as a branch, applied with wonderful zeal and aſſiduity to raiſe troops; and as during his long ſervice, he had acquired great credit with the leaders of thoſe mercenary bands which formed the ſtrength of Italian armies, he engaged the moſt eminent of them to follow Coſmo's ſtandard.

Peter Strozzi entruſted with the command of the French army in Italy.

To oppoſe this able general, and the formidable army which he had aſſembled, the King of France made choice of Peter Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, who had reſided long in France, as an exile, and who had riſen by his merit to high reputation and command in the army. He was the ſon of Philip Strozzi, who, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven had concurred with ſuch ardour in the attempt to expel the family of Medici out of Florence, and to re-eſtabliſh the ancient republican form of government; and who had periſhed in the undertaking. The ſon inherited the implacable averſion to the Medici, as well as the ſame enthuſiaſtick zeal for the liberty of Florence which had animated his father, whoſe death he was impatient

tient to revenge. Henry flattered himſelf that his army would make rapid progreſs under a general whoſe zeal o promote his intereſt was rouſed and ſeconded by ſuch powerful paſſions; eſpecially as he had allotted him, for the ſcene of action, his native country, in which he had many powerful partizans ready to facilitate all his operations.

The imprudence of this choice.

But how ſpecious ſoever the motives might appear which induced Henry to make this choice, it proved fatal to the intereſts of France in Italy. Coſmo, as ſoon as he heard that the mortal enemy of his family was appointed to take the command in Tuſcany, concluded that the King of France aimed at ſomething more than the protection of the Sieneſe, and ſaw the neceſſity of making extraordinary efforts, not merely to reduce Siena, but to ſave himſelf from deſtruction[c]. At the ſame time, the Cardinal of Ferrara, who had the entire direction of the French affairs in Italy, conſidered Strozzi as a formidable rival in power, and in order to prevent him from acquiring any increaſe of authority from ſucceſs, he was extremely remiſs in ſupplying him either with money to pay his troops, or with proviſions to ſupport them. Strozzi himſelf, blinded by his reſentment againſt the Medici, puſhed on his operations with the impetuoſity of revenge, rather than with the caution and prudence becoming a great general.

The battle of Marciano.

At firſt, however, he attacked ſeveral towns in the territories of Florence with ſuch vigour as obliged Medecino, in order to check his progreſs, to withdraw the greater part of his army from Siena, which he had inveſted before Strozzi's arrival in Italy.

[c] Pecci Memorie di Siena, vol. iv. p. 103, &c.

Book XI. 1554. As Coſmo ſuſtained the whole burden of military operations, the expence of which muſt ſoon have exhauſted his revenues; as neither the viceroy of Naples nor governor of Milan were in condition to afford him any effectual aid; and as the troops which Medecino had left in the camp before Siena could attempt nothing againſt it during his abſence; it was Strozzi's buſineſs to have protracted the war, and to have transferred the ſeat of it into the territories of Florence; but the hope of ruining his enemy by one deciſive blow, precipitated him into a general engagement not far from Marciano. The armies were nearly equal in number; but a body of Italian cavalry in which Strozzi placed great confidence, having fled either through the treachery or cowardice of the officers who commanded it, without making any reſiſtance, the infantry remained expoſed to the attacks of all Medecino's troops. Encouraged, however, by Strozzi's preſence and example, who after receiving a dangerous wound in endeavouring to rally the cavalry, placed himſelf at the head of the infantry, and manifeſted an admirable preſence of mind, as well as extraordinary valour, they ſtood their ground with great firmneſs, and repulſed ſuch of the enemy as ventured to approach them. But theſe gallant troops being ſurrounded at laſt on every ſide, and torn in pieces by a battery of cannon which Medecino brought to bear upon them, the Florentine cavalry broke in on their flanks, and a general rout enſued. Strozzi, faint with the loſs of blood, and deeply affected with the fatal conſequences of his own raſhneſs, found the utmoſt difficulty in making his eſcape with a handful of men [c].

Aug. 3.

In which the French are defeated.

[c] Pecci Memorie della Siena, vol. iv. p. 157.

1554.

Medicino beſieges Siena,

which is gallantly defended by the citizens and Monluc.

MEDECINO returned immediately to the ſiege of Siena with his victorious troops, and as Strozzi could not, after the utmoſt efforts of activity, collect as many men as to form the appearance of a regular army, he had leiſure to carry on his approaches againſt the town without moleſtation. But the Sieneſe, inſtead of ſinking into deſpair upon this cruel diſappointment of their only hope of obtaining relief, prepared to defend themſelves to the utmoſt extremity, with that undaunted fortitude, which the love of liberty alone can inſpire. This generous reſolution was warmly ſeconded by Monluc, who commanded the French garriſon in the town. The active and enterprizing courage which he had diſplayed on many occaſions had procured him this command; and as he had ambition which aſpired at the higheſt military dignities, without any pretenſions to attain them but what he could derive from merit, he determined to diſtinguiſh his defence of Siena by extraordinary efforts of valour and perſeverance. For this purpoſe, he, with unwearied induſtry, repaired and ſtrengthened the fortifications; he trained the citizens to the uſe of arms, and accuſtomed them to go through the fatigues and dangers of ſervice in common with the ſoldiers; and as the enemy were extremely ſtrict in guarding all the avenues to the city, he huſbanded the proviſions in the magazines with the moſt parſimonious œconomy, and prevailed on the ſoldiers as well as the citizens to reſtrict themſelves to a very moderate daily allowance for their ſubſiſtence. Medecino, though his army was not numerous enough to ſtorm the town by open force, ventured twice to aſſault it by ſurprize, but he was received each time with ſo much ſpirit, and repulſed with ſuch loſs, as diſcouraged him from repeating the attempt, and left him no hopes of reducing the town but by famine.

BOOK XI.

1554. Medicino converts the ſiege into a blockade.

WITH this view, he fortified his own camp with great care, occupied all the poſts of ſtrength round the place, and having entirely cut off the beſieged from any communication with the adjacent country, he waited patiently until neceſſity ſhould compel them to open their gates. But the enthuſiaſtick zeal of the citizens for liberty, made them deſpiſe the inconveniencies occaſioned by ſcarcity of proviſions, and even ſupported them long under all the miſeries of famine; Monluc by his example and exhortations taught his ſoldiers to vie with them in patience and abſtinence; and it was not until they had withſtood a ſiege of ten months, until they had eaten up all the horſes, dogs, and other animals in the place, and were reduced almoſt to their laſt morſel of bread, that they propoſed a capitulation. Even then they demanded honourable terms; and as Coſmo, though no ſtranger to the extremity of their condition, was afraid that deſpair might prompt them to venture upon ſome wild enterprize, he immediately granted them conditions more favourable than they could have expected.

1555.

April 22. The town obliged by famine to capitulate.

THE capitulation was made in the Emperor's name, who engaged to take the republick of Siena under the protection of the Empire; he promiſed to maintain the ancient liberties of the city, to allow the magiſtrates the full exerciſe of their former authority, to ſecure the citizens in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their privileges and property; he granted an ample and unlimited pardon to all who had born arms againſt him; he reſerved to himſelf the right of placing a garriſon in the town, but engaged not to rebuild the citadel without the conſent of the citizens. Monluc and his French garriſon were allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

MEDECINO

1555.

Many of the Sieneſe retire to Monté-Alcino,

Medecino obſerved the articles of capitulation, ſo far as depended on him, with great exactneſs. No violence or inſult whatever was offered to the inhabitants, and the French garriſon was received with all the reſpect due to their ſpirit and bravery. But many of the citizens ſuſpecting from the extraordinary facility with which they had obtained ſuch favourable conditions, that the Emperor, as well as Coſmo, would take the firſt opportunity of violating them, and diſdaining to poſſeſs a precarious liberty, which depended on the will of another, abandoned the place of their nativity, and accompanied the French to Monté-Alcino, Porto Ercole, and other ſmall towns in the territory of the republic. They eſtabliſhed in Monté-Alcino the ſame model of government to which they had been accuſtomed at Siena, and appointing magiſtrates with the ſame titles and juriſdiction, ſolaced themſelves with this image of their ancient liberty.

and eſtabliſh a free government there.

Hardſhips to which the citizens of Siena were ſubjected.

The fears of the Sieneſe concerning the fate of their country were not imaginary, or their ſuſpicion of the Emperor and Coſmo ill-founded; for no ſooner had the Imperial troops taken poſſeſſion of the town, than Coſmo, without regarding the articles of capitulation, not only diſplaced the magiſtrates who were in office, and nominated new ones devoted to his intereſt, but commanded all the citizens to deliver up their arms to perſons whom he appointed to receive them. They ſubmitted to the former from neceſſity, though with all the reluctance and regret which men accuſtomed to liberty feel in obeying the firſt commands of a maſter. They did not yield the ſame tame obedience to the latter; and many perſons of diſtinction, rather than degrade themſelves, by ſurrendering their arms,

BOOK XI. 1555. from the rank of freemen to the condition of ſlaves, fled to their countrymen at Monté-Alcino, and choſe to endure all the hardſhips, and encounter all the dangers which they had reaſon to expect in that new ſtation, where they had fixed the ſeat of their republick.

Coſmo attacks thoſe who had retired.

COSMO, not reckoning himſelf ſecure while ſuch numbers of implacable and deſperate enemies were ſettled in his neighbourhood, and retained any degree of power, ſollicited Medecino to attack them in their different places of retreat, before they had time to recruit their ſtrength and ſpirits, after the many calamities which they had ſuffered. He prevailed on him, though his army was much weakened by hard duty during the ſiege of Siena, to inveſt Porto Ercole; and the fortifications being both ſlight and incompleat, the beſieged were ſoon compelled to open
June 13. their gates. An unexpected order which Medecino received from the Emperor to detach the greater part of his troops into Piedmont, prevented farther operations, and permitted the Sieneſe exiles to reſide for ſome time undiſturbed in Montè-Alcino. But their unhappy countrymen who remained at Siena, were not yet at the end of their ſufferings; for the Emperor inſtead of adhering to the articles of capitulation, granted his ſon Philip the inveſtiture of that city and all its dependencies; and Francis de Toledo, in the name of their new maſter, proceeded to ſettle the civil and military government, treated them like a conquered people, and ſubjected them to the Spaniſh yoke, without paying any regard whatever to their privileges or eſtabliſhed forms of policy [c].

[c] Sleid. 617. Thuan. lib. xv. 526. 537. Joan. Camerarii adnot. rer. præcipuarum ab anno 1550 ad 1561 ap Freherum, vol. iii. p. 564. Pecci Memorie dell a Siena, iv. 164, &c.

1555.

Operations in Piedmont.

THE Imperial army in Piedmont had been ſo feeble, for ſome time, and its commanders ſo inactive that the Emperor, in order to give vigor to his operations in that quarter, found it neceſſary not only to call off Medecino's troops from Tuſcany while in the career of conqueſt, but to employ in Piedmont a general of ſuch reputation and abilities, as might counterbalance the great military talents of the Marechal Briſſac, who was at the head of the French forces in that country.

Charles appoints the Duke of Alva generaliſſimo there.

HE pitched on the Duke of Alva for that purpoſe; but it was as much the effect of a court intrigue, as of his opinion of the Duke's merit, which led him to this choice. Alva had long attended Philip with the utmoſt aſſiduity, and had endeavoured to work himſelf into his confidence by all the inſinuating arts of which his haughty and inflexible nature was capable. As he nearly reſembled that Prince in many features of his character, he began to gain much of his good-will. Ruy Gomez de Silva, Philip's favourite, who dreaded the progreſs which this formidable rival made in his maſter's affections, had the addreſs to prevail with the Emperor to name Alva to this command. The Duke, though ſenſible that he owed this diſtinction to the malicious arts of an enemy, who had no other aim than to remove him at a diſtance from court, was of ſuch punctilious honour, that he would not decline a command that appeared dangerous and difficult, but, at the ſame time, ſo haughty that he would not accept of it but on his own terms, inſiſting on being appointed the Emperor's Vicar General in Italy, with the ſupreme military command in all the Imperial and Spaniſh territories in that country. Charles granted all his

demands;

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demands; and he took poſſeſſion of his new dignity with almoſt unlimited authority.

His operations there inconſiderable.

His firſt operations, however, were neither proportioned to his former reputation and the extenſive powers with which he was inveſted, nor did they come up to the Emperor's expectations. Briſſac had under his command an army which, though inferior in number to the Imperialiſts, was compoſed of choſen troops, which having grown old in ſervice in that country, where every town was fortified, and every caſtle capable of being defended, were perfectly acquainted with the manner of carrying on war there. By their valour, and his own good conduct, Briſſac not only defeated all the attempts of the Imperialiſts, but added new conqueſts to the territories of which he was formerly maſter. Alva, after having boaſted, with his uſual arrogance, that he would drive the French out of Piedmont in a few weeks, was obliged to retire into winter quarters, with the ignominy of being unable to preſerve entire that part of the country of which the Emperor had hitherto kept poſſeſſion [f].

A conſpiracy to betray Metz to the Imperialiſts.

As the operations of this campaign in Piedmont were indeciſive, thoſe in the Netherlands were inconſiderable, neither the Emperor nor King of France being able to bring into the field an army ſtrong enough to undertake any enterprize of moment. But what Charles wanted in force, he endeavoured to ſupply by a bold ſtratagem, the ſucceſs of which would have been equal to that of the moſt vigorous campaign. During the ſiege of Metz, Leonard Father Guardian of a convent of Franciſcans in that city had, by his attachment to the French intereſt, inſinuated

[f] Thuan. lib. xv. 529. Guichenon Hiſt. de Savoye, tom. i. 670.

himſelf

himſelf far into the eſteem and favour of the Duke of Guiſe. Being a man of an active and intriguing ſpirit, he had been extremely uſeful both in animating the inhabitants to ſuſtain with patience all the hardſhips of the ſiege, and in procuring intelligence of the enemies deſigns and motions. The merit of theſe important ſervices, together with the warm recommendations of the Duke of Guiſe, ſecured him ſuch high confidence with Vielleville, who was appointed governor of Metz, when Guiſe left the town, that he was permitted to converſe or correſpond with whatever perſons he choſe, and nothing that he did created any ſuſpicion. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers; or from reſentment againſt the French, who had not beſtowed on him ſuch rewards as he thought due to his own merit; or tempted, by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him, to imagine that he might carry on and accompliſh any ſcheme with perfect ſecurity; formed a deſign of betraying Metz to the Imperialiſts. Book XI. 1555.

The plan of it.

He communicated his intention to the Queen-dowager of Hungary, who governed the Low-Countries in name of her brother. She approving, without any ſcruple, an act of treachery, from which the Emperor might derive ſuch ſignal advantage, aſſiſted the Father Guardian in concerting the moſt proper plan for enſuring its ſucceſs. They agreed that the Father Guardian ſhould endeavour to gain the monks of his convent to concur in promoting the deſign; that he ſhould introduce into the convent a certain number of choſen ſoldiers, diſguiſed in the habit of friars; that when every thing was ripe for execution, the governor of Thionville ſhould march towards Metz in the night with a conſiderable body of troops, and attempt to

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ſcale the ramparts; that while the garriſon was employed in reſiſting the aſſailants, the monks ſhould ſet fire to the town in different places; that the ſoldiers who lay concealed ſhould ſally out of the convent, and attack thoſe who defended the ramparts in the rear. Amidſt the univerſal terror and confuſion, which events ſo unexpected would occaſion, it was not doubted but that the Imperialiſts might become maſters of the town. As a recompence for this ſervice the Father Guardian ſtipulated that he ſhould be appointed biſhop of Metz, and ample rewards were promiſed to ſuch of his monks as ſhould be moſt active in co-operating with him.

Its progreſs.

THE Father Guardian accompliſhed what he had undertaken to perform with great ſecrecy and diſpatch. By his authority and arguments, as well as by the proſpect of wealth or honours which he ſet before his monks, he prevailed on all of them to enter into the conſpiracy. He introduced into the convent, as many ſoldiers as were thought ſufficient, without being ſuſpected. The governor of Thionville, appriſed in due time of the deſign, had aſſembled a proper number of troops for executing it; and the moment approached, which probably would have wreſted from Henry the moſt important of all his conqueſts.

Is diſcovered.

BUT happily for France, on the very day that was fixed for ſtriking the blow, Vielleville, an able and vigilant officer, received information from a ſpy whom he entertained at Thionville, that certain Franciſcan friars reſorted frequently thither, and were admitted to many private conferences with the governor, who was carrying on preparations for ſome military enterprize with

great diſpatch, but with a moſt myſterious ſecrecy. This was ſufficient to awaken Vielleville's ſuſpicions. Without communicating theſe to any perſon, he inſtantly viſited the convent of Franciſcans; detected the ſoldiers who were concealed there; and forced them to diſcover as much as they knew concerning the nature of the enterprize. The Father Guardian, who had gone to Thionville that he might put the laſt hand to his machinations, was ſeized at the gate as he returned; and he, in order to ſave himſelf from the rack, revealed all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy. Book XI. 1555.

Vielleville not ſatisfied with having ſeized the traitors, and having fruſtrated their ſchemes, was ſollicitous to take advantage of the diſcoveries which he had made, ſo as to be revenged on the Imperialiſts. For this purpoſe he marched out with the beſt troops in his garriſon, and placing theſe in ambuſh near the road, by which the Father Guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell upon the Imperialiſts with great fury, as they advanced in perfect ſecurity, without ſuſpecting any danger to be near. Confounded at this ſudden attack, by an enemy whom they expected to ſurprize, they made little reſiſtance; and a great part of the troops employed in this ſervice, among which were many perſons of diſtinction, was killed or taken priſoners. Before next morning, Vielleville returned to Metz in triumph. A body of Imperialiſts defeated.

No reſolution was taken for ſome time concerning the fate of the Father Guardian and his monks, the framers and conductors of this dangerous conſpiracy. Regard for the honour of a body ſo numerous and reſpectable as the Franciſcans, and unwilling- The conſpirators puniſhed.

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neſs to afford a ſubject of triumph to the enemies of the Romiſh church by their diſgrace, ſeem to have occaſioned this delay. But at length, the neceſſity of inflicting exemplary puniſhment upon them, in order to deter others from venturing to commit the ſame crime, became ſo evident, that orders were iſſued to proceed to their trial. Their guilt was made apparent by the cleareſt evidence; and ſentence of death was paſſed upon the Father Guardian together with twenty monks. On the evening previous to the day fixed for their execution, the jailor took them out of the dungeons in which they had hitherto been confined ſeparately, and ſhut them all up in one great room, that they might confeſs their ſins one to another, and join together in preparing for a future ſtate. But as ſoon as they were left alone, inſtead of employing themſelves in the religious exerciſes ſuitable to their condition, they began to reproach the Father Guardian, and four of the ſenior monks who had been moſt active in ſeducing them, for their inordinate ambition, which had brought ſuch miſery on them, and ſuch diſgrace upon their order. From reproaches they proceeded to curſes and execrations, and at laſt, in a frenzy of rage and deſpair, they fell upon them with ſuch violence, that they murdered the Father Guardian on the ſpot, and ſo diſabled the other four, that it became neceſſary to carry them next morning in a cart, together with the dead body of the Father Guardian to the place of execution. Six of the youngeſt were pardoned, the reſt ſuffered the puniſhment which their crime merited [s].

[s] Thuan. lib. xv. p. 522. Belcar. Com. Rer. Gal. 866. Memoires du Marech. Vielleville, par M. Charloix, tom. iii. p. 249, &c. p. 347. Par. 1757.

THOUGH

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THOUGH both parties, exhauſted by the length of the war, carried it on in this languiſhing manner, neither of them ſhewed any diſpoſition to liſten to overtures of peace. Cardinal Pole indeed laboured with all the zeal becoming his piety and humanity, to re-eſtabliſh concord among the Princes of Chriſtendom. He had not only perſuaded his miſtreſs, the Queen of England, to enter warmly into his ſentiments and to offer her mediation to the contending powers, but had prevailed both on the Emperor and King of France to ſend their plenipotentiaries to a village between Gravelines and Ardres. He himſelf, together with Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter repaired thither in order to preſide as mediators in the conferences, which were to be held for adjuſting all the points in difference. But though both the monarchs committed this negociation to thoſe miniſters, in whom they placed the greateſt confidence, it was ſoon evident that they came together with no ſincere deſire of accommodation. Each propoſed articles ſo extravagant that they could have no hopes of their being accepted. Pole, after exerting, in vain, all his zeal, addreſs and invention, in order to perſuade them to relinguiſh ſuch extravagant demands, and to conſent to the ſubſtitution of more equal conditions became ſenſible of the folly of waſting time, in attempting to reconcile thoſe, whom their obſtinacy rendered irreconcileable, broke off the conference, and returned into England [h].

A fruitleſs negociation in order to eſtabliſh peace.

May 21.

DURING theſe tranſactions in other parts of Europe, Germany enjoyed ſuch profound tranquillity, as afforded the diet full leiſure to deliberate, and to eſtabliſh proper regulations concerning a

Affairs of Germany.

[h] Thuan. lib. xv. p. 523. Mem. de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 613.

point

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point of the greateſt conſequence to the internal peace of the Empire. By the treaty of Paſſau in one thouſand five hundred and fifty-two, it had been referred to the next diet of the Empire to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification, which was there agreed upon. The terror and confuſion with which the violent commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburgh had filled the Empire, as well as the conſtant attention which Ferdinand was obliged to give to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto prevented the holding a diet, though it had been ſummoned, ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty, to meet at Augſburg.

Diet held at Augſburg, and Ferdinand's ſpeech in it.

BUT as a diet was now neceſſary on many accounts, Ferdinand about the beginning of this year had repaired to Augſburg. Though few of the Princes were preſent either in perſon or by their deputies, he opened the aſſembly by a ſpeech, in which he propoſed the termination of the diſſentions, to which the new tenets and controverſies with regard to religion had given riſe, not only as the firſt and great buſineſs of the diet, but as the point which both the Emperor and he had moſt at heart. He repreſented the innumerable obſtacles which the Emperor had to ſurmount before he could procure the convocation of a general council, as well as the fatal accidents which had for ſometime retarded, and had at laſt ſuſpended the conſultations of that aſſembly. He obſerved that experience had already taught them how vain it was to expect any remedy for evils, which demanded immediate redreſs, from a general council; the aſſembling of which would either be prevented, or its deliberations be interrupted by the diſſentions and hoſtilities of the Princes of Chriſtendom; That a national council in Germany, which, as ſome imagined, might be

be called with greater eaſe, and deliberate with more perfect ſecurity, was an aſſembly of an unprecedented nature, the juriſdiction of which was uncertain in its extent, and the form of its proceedings undefined; That in his opinion there remained but one method for compoſing their unhappy differences, which though it had been often tried without ſucceſs, might yet prove effectual if it were attempted with a better and more pacific ſpirit than had appeared on former occaſions, and that was to chuſe a few men of learning, abilities and moderation, who by diſcuſſing the diſputed articles in an amicable conference, might explain them in ſuch a manner as to bring the contending parties either to unite in ſentiment, or to differ with charity.

Suſpicions and fears of the Proteſtants.

THIS ſpeech being printed in common form, and diſperſed over the Empire, revived the fears and jealouſies of the Proteſtants; Ferdinand, they obſerved with much ſurprize, had not once mentioned, in his addreſs to the diet, the treaty of Paſſau, the ſtipulations in which they conſidered as the great ſecurity of their religious liberty. The ſuſpicions to which this gave riſe were confirmed by the accounts which they daily received of the extreme rigor with which Ferdinand treated their Proteſtant brethren in his hereditary dominions, and as it was natural to conſider his actions as the ſureſt indication of his intentions, this diminiſhed their confidence in thoſe pompous profeſſions of moderation or of zeal for the re-eſtabliſhment of concord, to which his practice was ſo utterly repugnant.

Theſe increaſed by the arrival of a nuncio from the Pope to the diet.

THE arrival of the Cardinal Morone, whom the Pope had appointed to attend the diet as his nuncio, compleated their conviction, and left them no room to doubt that ſome dangerous machination was forming againſt the peace or ſafety of the Proteſtant

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teſtant church. Julius elated with the unexpected return of the Engliſh nation from apoſtacy, began to flatter himſelf that the ſpirit of mutiny and revolt having now ſpent its force the happy period was come when the church might reſume its ancient authority, and be obeyed by the people with the ſame tame ſubmiſſion as formerly. Full of theſe hopes, he had ſent Morone to Augſburg with inſtructions to employ his eloquence in order to excite the Germans to imitate the laudable example of the Engliſh, and his political addreſs in order to prevent any decree of the diet to the detriment of the catholick faith. As Morone inherited from his father, the chancellor of Milan, uncommon talents for negociation and intrigue; he could ſcarce have failed of embarraſſing the meaſures of the Proteſtants in the diet or of defeating whatever they aimed at obtaining in it for their farther ſecurity.

The death of Julius III.

BUT an unforeſeen event delivered them from all the danger which they had reaſon to apprehend from Morone's preſence. Julius, by abandoning himſelf to pleaſures and amuſements no leſs unbecoming his age than his character, having contracted ſuch habits of diſſipation, that any ſerious occupation, eſpecially if attended with difficulty, became an intolerable burden to him, had long reſiſted the ſollicitations of his nephew to hold a conſiſtory, becauſe he expected there a violent oppoſition to his ſchemes in favour of that young man. But when all the pretexts which he could invent for eluding his requeſt were exhauſted, and at the ſame time his indolent averſion to buſineſs continued to grow upon him, he feigned indiſpoſition rather than yield to his nephew's importunity; and that he might give the deceit a greater colour of probability, he not only confined himſelf

himſelf to his apartment, but changed his uſual diet and manner of life. By perſiſting too long in acting this ridiculous part, he contracted a real diſeaſe, of which he died in a few days, leaving his infamous minion the Cardinal de Monte to bear his name, and to diſgrace the dignity which he had conferred upon him [1]. As ſoon as Morone heard of his death, he ſet out abruptly from Augſburg, where he had reſided only a few days, that he might be preſent at the election of a new Pontiff.

1555.

March 23.

The nuncio ſets out for Rome.

ONE cauſe of their ſuſpicions and fears being thus removed, the Proteſtants ſoon became ſenſible that their conjectures concerning Ferdinand's intentions, how plauſible ſoever, were ill-founded, and that he had no thoughts of violating the articles favourable to them in the treaty of Paſſau. Charles, from the time that Maurice had defeated all his ſchemes in the Empire, and overturned the great ſyſtem of religious and civil deſpotiſm, which he had almoſt eſtabliſhed there, gave little attention to the internal government of Germany, and permitted his brother to purſue whatever meaſures he judged moſt ſalutary and expedient. Ferdinand, leſs ambitious and enterprizing than the Emperor, inſtead of reſuming a plan, which he, with power and reſources ſo far ſuperior, had failed of accompliſhing, endeavoured to attach the Princes of the Empire to his family by an adminiſtration uniformly moderate and equitable. To this he gave, at preſent, particular attention, becauſe his ſituation at this juncture rendered it neceſſary to court their favour and ſupport with more than uſual aſſiduity.

Ferdinand's reaſons for wiſhing to ſatisfy the Proteſtants.

[1] Onuphr. Panvinius de vitis Pontificum. p. 320. Thuan. lib. xv. 517.

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1555.

Charles had resumed his plan of altering the succession to the Empire.

CHARLES had again resumed his favourite project of acquiring the Imperial crown for his son Philip, which the ill reception it had met with when first proposed had obliged him to intermit, but had not persuaded him to relinquish. This led him warmly to renew his requests to his brother that he would accept of some compensation for his prior right of succession, and sacrifice that to the grandeur of the house of Austria. Ferdinand who was as little disposed, as formerly, to give such an extraordinary proof of self-denial, being sensible that, in order to defeat this scheme, not only the most inflexible firmness on his part, but a vigorous declaration from the Princes of the Empire in behalf of his title, were requisite; was willing to purchase their favour by gratifying them in every point that they deemed interesting or essential.

The Turks were ready to invade Hungary.

ON the other hand, the Turks, after having wrested from him great part of his Hungarian territories, were ready to attack the provinces still subject to his authority with a formidable army, against which he could bring no equal force into the field, unless the diet should grant him immediate and extraordinary aid. For this he could not hope if the internal peace of the Empire were not established on a foundation solid in itself, and which should appear, even to the Protestants, so secure and so permanent, as might not only allow them to engage in a distant war with safety, but encourage them to act with vigour.

He is alarmed at some steps taken by the Protestants.

A STEP taken by the Protestants themselves, a short time after the opening of the diet, rendered him still more cautious of giving them any new cause of offence. As soon as the publication of Ferdinand's speech created the fears and suspicions which have been

mentioned,

mentioned, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, together with the Landgrave of Heſſe, met at Naumburgh, and renewing the ancient treaty of confraternity which had long united their families, they added to it a new article, by which the contracting parties bound themſelves to adhere to the confeſſion of Augſburg, and to maintain the doctrine which it contained in their reſpective dominions [k]. Book XI. 1555.

FERDINAND, influenced by all theſe conſiderations, employed his utmoſt addreſs in conducting the deliberations of the diet ſo as not to excite the jealouſy of a party on whoſe friendſhip he depended, and whoſe enmity, as they had not only taken the alarm, but had begun to prepare for their defence, he had ſo much reaſon to dread. The members of the diet readily agreed to Ferdinand's propoſal of taking the ſtate of religion into conſideration, previous to any other buſineſs. But, as ſoon as they entered upon it, both parties diſcovered all the zeal and animoſity which a ſubject ſo intereſting naturally engenders, and which the rancour of controverſy, together with the violence of civil war, had inflamed to the higheſt pitch. Ferdinand zealous to promote an accommodation.

THE Proteſtants contended that the ſecurity which they claimed in conſequence of the treaty of Paſſau ſhould extend, without limitation, to all who had hitherto embraced the doctrine of Luther, or who ſhould hereafter embrace it. The Catholics, having firſt of all aſſerted the Pope's right as the ſupreme and final judge with reſpect to all articles of faith, inſiſted that the toleration granted, by the treaty of Paſſau, to The pretenſions of the Catholicks and Proteſtants.

[k] Chytræi Saxonia, 480.

Book XI. 1555. such as had adopted the new opinions; which, on account of the preſent ſituation of the Empire, and for the ſake of peace, they were willing to confirm; ſhould not be extended either to thoſe cities which had conformed to the Interim, or to ſuch eccleſiaſtics as ſhould for the future apoſtatize from the church of Rome. It was no eaſy matter to reconcile ſuch oppoſite pretenſions, which were ſupported, on each ſide, by the moſt elaborate arguments, and the greateſt acrimony of expreſſion, that the abilities or zeal of theologians long exerciſed in diſputation could ſuggeſt. Ferdinand, however, by his addreſs and perſeverance; by ſoftening ſome things on each ſide; by putting a favourable meaning upon others; by repreſenting inceſſantly the neceſſity as well as the advantages of concord; and by threatening on ſome occaſions, when all other conſiderations were diſregarded, to diſſolve the diet, brought them at length to a concluſion in which they all agreed.

Sept. 25. The peace of religion eſtabliſhed.

CONFORMABLY to this a receſs was framed, approved of, and publiſhed with the uſual formalities. The following are the chief articles which it contained, That ſuch Princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, ſhall be permitted to profeſs the doctrine and exerciſe the worſhip which it authoriſes without interruption or moleſtation from the Emperor, the King of the Romans, or any power or perſon whatſoever; That the Proteſtants on their part, ſhall give no diſquiet to the Princes and States who adhere to the tenets and rites of the Church of Rome; That, for the future, no attempt ſhall be made towards terminating religious differences, but by the gentle and pacifick methods of perſuaſion and conference; That the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics ſhall

claim

claim no ſpiritual juriſdiction in ſuch ſtates as receive the Confeſſion of Augſburg; That ſuch as had ſeized the benefices or revenues of the church, previous to the treaty of Paſſau, ſhall retain poſſeſſion of them, and be liable to no proſecution in the Imperial chamber on that account; That the ſupreme civil power in every ſtate ſhall have right to eſtabliſh what form of doctrine and worſhip it ſhall deem proper, and if any of its ſubjects refuſe to conform to theſe, ſhall permit them to remove with all their effects wherever they pleaſe; That if any prelate or eccleſiaſtic ſhall hereafter abandon the Romiſh religion, he ſhall inſtantly relinquiſh his dioceſe or benefice, and it ſhall be lawful for thoſe in whom the right of nomination is veſted, to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office were vacant by death or tranſlation, and to appoint a ſucceſſor of undoubted attachment to the ancient ſyſtem [1].

Reflections on the progreſs of the principles of toleration.

SUCH are the capital articles in this famous Receſs, which is the baſis of religious peace in Germany, and the bond of union among its various ſtates, the ſentiments of which are ſo extremely different with reſpect to points the moſt intereſting and important. In our age and nation, to which the idea of Toleration is familiar, and its beneficial effects well known, it may ſeem ſtrange that a method of terminating their diſſentions, ſo ſuitable to the mild and charitable ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion, did not ſooner occur to the contending parties. But an expedient, which, how ſalutary ſoever it might be, was repugnant to the ſentiments and practice of Chriſtians during many ages, did not lie obvious to diſcovery. Among the ancient heathens, all whoſe deities were local and tutelary, diverſity of ſentiment

[1] Sleid. 620. F. Paul, 368. Pallav. P. II. 161.

concerning

Book XI. 1555. concerning the object or rites of religious worſhip ſeems to have been no ſource of animoſity, becauſe the acknowledging veneration to be due to any one God, did not imply denial of the exiſtence or the power of any other God; nor were the modes and rites of worſhip eſtabliſhed in one country incompatible with thoſe which other nations approved of and obſerved. Thus the errors in their ſyſtem of theology were of ſuch a nature as to be productive of concord, and notwithſtanding the amazing number of their deities, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a ſociable and tolerating ſpirit ſubſiſted almoſt univerſally in the pagan world.

But when the Chriſtian revelation declared one Supreme Being to be the ſole object of religious veneration, preſcribed the form of worſhip moſt acceptable to him, whoever admitted the truth it held, of conſequence, every other mode of religion to be abſurd and impious. Hence the zeal of the firſt converts to the Chriſtian faith in propagating its doctrines, and the ardour with which they laboured to overturn every other form of worſhip. They employed, however, for this purpoſe no methods but ſuch as ſuited the nature of religion. By the force of powerful arguments, they convinced the underſtandings of men; by the charms of ſuperior virtue, they allured and captivated their hearts. At length the civil power declared in favour of Chriſtianity, and though numbers, imitating the example of their ſuperiors, crouded into the church, many ſtill adhered to their ancient ſuperſtitions. Enraged at their obſtinacy, the miniſters of religion, whoſe zeal was ſtill unabated, though their ſanctity and virtue were much diminiſhed, forgot ſo far the nature of their own miſſion, and of the arguments which they ought to have

have employed, that they armed the Imperial power againſt theſe unhappy men, and as they could not perſuade, they tried to compel them to believe.

AT the ſame time, controverſies concerning articles of faith multiplied, from various cauſes, among Chriſtians themſelves, and the ſame unhallowed weapons which had firſt been uſed againſt the enemies of their religion, were turned againſt each other. Every zealous diſputant endeavoured to intereſt the civil magiſtrate in his cauſe, and each in his turn employed the ſecular arm to cruſh or to exterminate his opponents. Not long after, the biſhops of Rome put in their claim to infallibility in explaining articles of faith, and deciding points in controverſy, and bold as the pretenſion was, they, by their artifices and perſeverance, impoſed on the credulity of mankind, and brought them to recognize it. To doubt or to deny any doctrine to which theſe unerring inſtructors had given the ſanction of their approbation, was held to be not only a reſiſting of truth, but an act of rebellion againſt their ſacred authority; and the ſecular power, of which by various arts they had acquired the abſolute direction, was inſtantly employed to avenge both.

THUS Europe had been accuſtomed, during many centuries, to ſee ſpeculative opinions propagated or defended by force; the charity and mutual forbearance which Chriſtianity recommends with ſo much warmth were forgotten, the ſacred rights of conſcience and of private judgment were unheard of, and not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itſelf, in the ſenſe now affixed to it, was unknown. A right to extirpate error by force was univerſally allowed to be the prerogative of thoſe who poſſeſſed

Book XI. 1555. the knowledge of truth, and as each party of Chriſtians believed that they had got poſſeſſion of this invaluable attainment, they all claimed and exerciſed, as far as they were able, the rights which it was ſuppoſed to convey. The Roman catholicks, as their ſyſtem reſted on the deciſions of an infallible judge, never doubted that truth was on their ſide, and openly called on the civil power to repell the impious and heretical innovators who had riſen up againſt it. The Proteſtants, no leſs confident that their doctrine was well founded, required, with equal ardour, the Princes of their party to check ſuch as preſumed to impugn or to oppoſe it. Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their reſpective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the ſame puniſhments which were denounced againſt their own diſciples by the church of Rome, on ſuch as called in queſtion any article in their creeds. To their followers, and perhaps to their opponents, it would have appeared a ſymptom of diffidence in the goodneſs of their cauſe, or an acknowledgement that it was not well founded, if they had not employed in its defence all thoſe means which it was ſuppoſed truth had a right to employ.

It was towards the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century, before Toleration, under its preſent form, was admitted firſt into the republick of the United Provinces, and from thence introduced into England. Long experience of the calamities of mutual perſecution, the influence of free government, the light and humanity acquired by the progreſs of ſcience, together with the prudence and authority of the civil magiſtrate, were all requiſite in order to eſtabliſh a regulation, ſo repugnant to the ideas which all the different ſects had adopted from miſtaken conceptions concern-

ing the nature of religion and the rights of truth, or which all of them had derived from the erroneous maxims eſtabliſhed by the church of Rome.

Advantages of the religious peace to the Lutherans.

THE receſs of Augſburg, it is evident, was founded on no ſuch liberal and enlarged ſentiments concerning freedom of religious inquiry or the nature of toleration. It was nothing more than a ſcheme of pacification, which political conſiderations alone had ſuggeſted to the contending parties, and regard for their mutual tranquility and ſafety had rendered neceſſary. Of this there can be no ſtronger proof than an article in the receſs itſelf, by which the benefits of the pacification are declared to extend only to the Catholicks on the one ſide, and to ſuch as adhered to the Confeſſion of Augſburg on the other. The followers of Zuinglius and Calvin remained, in conſequence of that excluſion, without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced againſt hereticks. Nor did they obtain any legal ſecurity, until the treaty of Weſtphalia, near a century after this period, provided that they ſhould be admitted to enjoy, in as ample manner as the Lutherans, all the advantages and protection which the receſs of Augſburg affords.

And to the Catholicks.

BUT if the followers of Luther were highly pleaſed with the ſecurity which they acquired by this receſs, ſuch as adhered to the ancient ſyſtem had no leſs reaſon to be ſatisfied with that article in it, which preſerved entire to the Roman catholick church the benefices of ſuch eccleſiaſticks as ſhould hereafter renounce its doctrines. This article, known in Germany by the name of the *Eccleſiaſtical Reſervation*, was manifeſtly ſo conformable to the idea and to the rights of an eſtabliſhed

Book XI. 1555. church; and it appeared ſo equitable to prevent revenues, which had been originally appropriated for the maintenance of perſons attached to a certain ſyſtem, from being alienated to any other purpoſe, that the Proteſtants, though they foreſaw its conſequences, were obliged to relinquiſh their oppoſition to it. As the Roman catholick Princes of the Empire have taken care to ſee this article exactly obſerved in every caſe where there was an opportunity of putting it in execution, it has proved the great barrier of the Romiſh church in Germany againſt the Reformation; and as from this period the ſame temptation of intereſt did not allure eccleſiaſticks to relinquiſh the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, there have been few of that order, who have loved truth with ſuch diſintereſted and ardent affection, as to abandon for its ſake the rich benefices which they had in poſſeſſion.

Marcellus II. elected Pope, April 9.

DURING the ſitting of the diet, Marcellus Cervino, Cardinal of Santa Croce, was elected Pope in room of Julius. He, in imitation of Adrian, did not change his name on being exalted to the Papal Chair. As he equalled that Pontiff in purity of intention, and excelled him much in the arts of government, and ſtill more in knowledge of the ſtate and genius of the papal court; as he had capacity to diſcern what reformation it needed, as well as what it could bear, ſuch regulations were expected from his virtue and wiſdom, as would have removed many of its groſſeſt and moſt flagrant corruptions, and have contributed towards reconciling to the church, ſuch as from indignation at theſe enormities had abandoned its communion. But this excellent Pontiff was only ſhown to the church and immediately ſnatched away. The confinement in the conclave had impaired his health, and the fatigue of tedious ceremonies upon his acceſſion,

His character.

His death.

together

1555.

together with too intenſe and anxious application of mind to the ſchemes of improvement which he meditated, exhauſted ſo entirely the vigour of his feeble conſtitution, that he ſickened on the twelfth, and died on the twentieth day after his election[m].

The election of Paul IV.

ALL the refinements in artifice and intrigue, peculiar to conclaves, were diſplayed in that which was held for electing a ſucceſſor to Marcellus; the Cardinals of the Imperial and French factions labouring, with equal ardour, to gain the neceſſary number of ſuffrages for one of their own party. But, after a ſtruggle of no long duration, though conducted with all the warmth and eagerneſs natural to men contending for ſo great an object, they united in chuſing John Peter Caraffa the eldeſt member of the ſacred college and the ſon of Count Montorio, a nobleman of an illuſtrious family in the kingdom of Naples. The addreſs and influence of Cardinal Farneſe who favoured his pretenſions, Caraffa's own merit, and perhaps his great age, which ſoothed all the diſappointed candidates with the near proſpect of a new vacancy, concurred in bringing about this ſpeedy union of ſuffrages. In order to teſtify his reſpect for the memory of Paul III. by whom he had been created Cardinal, and his gratitude to the family of Farneſe, he aſſumed the name of Paul IV.

May 23.

His riſe and character.

THE choice of a prelate of ſuch a ſingular character, and who had long held a courſe extremely different from that which uſually led to the dignity now conferred upon him, filled

[m] Thuan. 520. F. Paul, 365. Onuph. Panvin. 321, &c.

Book XI. 1555. the Italians, who had neareſt acceſs to obſerve his manners and deportment, with aſtoniſhment, and kept them in ſuſpenſe and ſolicitude with regard to his future conduct. Paul, though born in a rank of life which, without any other merit, might have ſecured to him the higheſt eccleſiaſtical preferments, had from his early years applied to ſtudy with all the aſſiduity of a man, who had nothing but his perſonal accompliſhments to render him conſpicuous. By means of this he not only acquired profound ſkill in ſcholaſtick theology, but added to that a conſiderable knowledge of the learned languages and of polite literature, the ſtudy of which had been lately revived in Italy, and was purſued at this time with great ardour. His mind, however, naturally gloomy and ſevere, was more formed to imbibe the ſour ſpirit of the former, than to receive any degree of elegance or liberality of ſentiment from the latter; ſo that he acquired rather the qualities and paſſions of a recluſe eccleſiaſtick, than the talents neceſſary for the conduct of great affairs. Accordingly, when he entered into orders, although ſeveral rich benefices were beſtowed on him, and he was early employed as nuncio in different courts, he ſoon became diſguſted with that courſe of life, and languiſhed to be in a ſituation more ſuited to his taſte and temper. With this view he reſigned at once all his eccleſiaſtical preferments, and having inſtituted an order of regular prieſts, whom he denominated Theatines, from the name of the archbiſhoprick which he had held, he aſſociated himſelf as a member of their fraternity, conformed to all the rigorous rules to which he had ſubjected them, and preferred the ſolitude of a monaſtick life, with the honour of being the founder of a new order, to all the vaſt objects which the court of Rome preſented to his ambition.

In

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In this retreat he remained for many years, until Paul III. induced by the fame of his ſanctity and knowledge, called him to Rome, in order to conſult with him concerning the meaſures which might be moſt proper and effectual for the ſuppreſſing of hereſy, and re-eſtabliſhing the ancient authority of the church. Having thus allured him from his ſolitude, the Pope, partly by his intreaties, and partly by his authority, prevailed on him to accept of a Cardinal's hat, to re-aſſume the benefices which he had reſigned, and to return again into the uſual path of eccleſiaſtical ambition which he ſeemed to have relinquiſhed. But, during two ſucceſſive Pontificates, under the firſt of which the court of Rome was the moſt artful and intereſted, and under the ſecond the moſt diſſolute of any in Europe, Caraffa retained his monaſtick auſterity. He was an avowed and bitter enemy not only of all innovation in opinion, but of every irregularity in practice; he was the chief inſtrument in eſtabliſhing the formidable and odious tribunal of the Inquiſition in the papal territories; he appeared a violent advocate on all occaſions for the juriſdiction and diſcipline of the church, and a ſevere cenſurer of every meaſure which ſeemed to flow from motives of policy or intereſt, rather than from zeal for the honour of the eccleſiaſtical order, and the dignity of the Holy See. Under a prelate of ſuch a character, the Roman courtiers expected a ſevere and violent Pontificate, during which the principles of ſound policy would be ſacrificed to the narrow prejudices of prieſtly zeal; while the people of Rome were apprehenſive of ſeeing the ſordid and forbidding rigour of monaſtick manners ſubſtituted in place of the gaiety or magnificence to which they had long been accuſtomed in the papal court. Theſe apprehenſions Paul was extremely ſolicitous to remove. At his firſt entrance on the adminiſtration

The firſt ſteps of his adminiſtration.

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administration he laid aside that austerity which had hitherto distinguished his person and family, and when the master of his household inquired in what manner he would chuse to live, he haughtily replied, "As becomes a great Prince." He ordered the ceremony of his coronation to be conducted with more than usual magnificence; and endeavoured to render himself popular by several acts of liberality and indulgence towards the inhabitants of Rome[a].

The excess of his attachment to his nephews.

His natural severity of temper, however, would have soon returned upon him, and would have justified the conjectures of the courtiers, and the fears of the people, if he had not, immediately after his election, called to Rome two of his nephews, the sons of his brother the Count of Montorio. The eldest he promoted to be governor of Rome, the youngest, who had hitherto served as a soldier of fortune in the armies of Spain or France, and whose disposition as well as manners were still more foreign from the clerical character than his profession, he created a Cardinal, and appointed him legate of Bologna, the second office in power and dignity which a Pope can bestow. These marks of favour, no less sudden than extravagant, he accompanied with the most unbounded confidence and attachment, and forgetting all his former severe maxims, he seemed to have no other object than the aggrandizing of his nephews. Their ambition, unfortunately for Paul, was too aspiring to be satisfied with any moderate acquisition. They had seen the family of Medici raised by the interest of the Popes of that house to supreme power in Tuscany; Paul III. had by his abilities and address secured the duchies of Parma and Piacentia to the family of

Their ambitious projects.

[a] Plasina, p. 327. Castaldo Vita di Paolo IV. Rom. 1615, p. 70.

Farneſe. They aimed at ſome eſtabliſhment for themſelves, no leſs conſiderable and independant; and as they could not expect that the Pope would carry his indulgence towards them ſo far as to ſecularize any part of the patrimony of the church, they had no proſpect of attaining what they wiſhed, but by diſmembering the Imperial dominions in Italy, in hopes of ſeizing ſome portion of them. This alone would have been to them a ſufficient reaſon for ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord between their uncle and the Emperor.

Reaſons of their diſguſt with the Emperor.

BUT Cardinal Caraffa had, beſides, private reaſons which filled him with hatred and enmity to the Emperor. While he ſerved in the Spaniſh troops he had not received ſuch marks of honour and diſtinction as he thought due to his birth and merit. Diſguſted with this ill-uſage, he had abruptly quitted the Imperial ſervice, and entering into that of France; he had not only met with ſuch a reception as ſoothed his vanity, and attached him to the French intereſt, but by contracting an intimate friendſhip with Strozzi, who commanded the French army in Tuſcany, he had imbibed a mortal antipathy to the Emperor as the great enemy to the liberty and independence of the Italian ſtates. Nor was the Pope himſelf indiſpoſed to receive impreſſions unfavourable to the Emperor. The oppoſition given to his election by the Cardinals of the Imperial faction left in his mind deep reſentment, which was heightened by the remembrance of ancient injuries from Charles or his miniſters.

They endeavour to alienate the Pope from the Emperor.

OF this his nephews took advantage, and employed various devices, in order to exaſperate him beyond a poſſibility of reconciliation. They aggravated every circumſtance which could

Book XI. 1555. could be deemed any indication of the Emperor's diſſatisfaction with his promotion; they read to him an intercepted letter in which Charles taxed the Cardinals of his party with negligence or incapacity in not having defeated Paul's election: They pretended, at one time, to have diſcovered a conſpiracy formed by the Imperial miniſter and Coſmo de Medici againſt the Pope's life; they alarmed him, at another, with accounts of a plot for aſſaſſinating themſelves. By theſe artifices, they kept his mind, which was naturally violent, and become ſuſpicious from old age, in ſuch perpetual agitation, as precipitated him into meaſures, which otherwiſe he would have been the firſt perſon to condemn [a]. He ſeized ſome of the Cardinals who were moſt attached to the Emperor, and confined them in the caſtle of St. Angelo; he perſecuted the Colonnas and other Roman barons, the ancient retainers to the Imperial faction, with the utmoſt ſeverity; and diſcovering on all occaſions his diſtruſt, fear, or hatred of the Emperor, he began at laſt to court the friendſhip of the French King, and ſeemed willing to throw himſelf abſolutely upon him for ſupport and protection.

Induce him to court the King of France.

THIS was the very point to which his nephews wiſhed to bring him as moſt favourable to their ambitious ſchemes; and as the accompliſhment of theſe depended on their uncle's life, whoſe advanced age did not admit of loſing a moment unneceſſarily in negociations, inſtead of treating at ſecond hand with the French ambaſſador at Rome, they prevailed on the Pope to diſpatch a perſon of confidence directly to the court of

[a] Ripamontii Hiſt. Patriæ, lib. iii. 1146. Ap. Grev. Theſ. vol. ii. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 615. Adriani Hiſtor. i. 908.

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France with ſuch overtures on his part as they hoped would not be rejected. He propoſed an alliance offenſive and defenſive between Henry and the Pope; that they ſhould attack the dutchy of Tuſcany and the kingdom of Naples with their united forces; and if their arms ſhould prove ſucceſsful, that the ancient republican form of government ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the former, and the inveſtiture of the latter ſhould be granted to one of the French King's ſons, after reſerving a certain territory which ſhould be annexed to the patrimony of the church, together with an independant and princely eſtabliſhment for each of the Pope's nephews.

Conſtable Montmorency oppoſes the alliance with the Pope.

THE King, allured by theſe ſpecious projects, gave a moſt favourable audience to the envoy. But when the matter was propoſed in council, the conſtable Montmorency, whoſe natural caution and averſion to daring enterprizes increaſed with age and experience, remonſtrated with great vehemence againſt the alliance. He put Henry in mind how fatal every expedition into Italy had been to France during three ſucceſſive reigns, and if ſuch an enterprize had proved too great for the nation even when its ſtrength and finances were entire, there was no reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, if it ſhould be attempted now when both were exhauſted by extraordinary efforts during wars, which had laſted, with little interruption, almoſt half a century. He repreſented the manifeſt imprudence of entering into engagements with a Pope of fourſcore, as any ſyſtem which reſted on no better foundation that his life muſt be extremely precarious, and upon the event of his death, which could not be diſtant, the face of things together with the inclination of the Italian States muſt inſtantly change, and the whole weight of the war be left upon the King alone. To theſe conſiderations he added the near proſpect which they now had of a final

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The Duke of Guiſe favours it.

THESE arguments, weighty in themſelves, and urged by a miniſter of great authority, would probably have determined the King to decline any connection with the Pope. But the Duke of Guiſe and his brother the Cardinal of Lorrain, who delighted no leſs in bold and dangerous undertakings than Montmorency ſhunned them, declared warmly for an alliance with the Pope. The cardinal expected to be entruſted with the conduct of the negociations in the court of Rome to which this alliance would give riſe; the duke laid his account with obtaining the command of the army which would be appointed to invade Naples; and conſidering themſelves as already in theſe ſtations vaſt projects opened to their aſpiring and unbounded ambition. Their credit, together with the influence of the King's miſtreſs, the famous Diana of Poitiers, who was, at that time, entirely devoted to the intereſt of the family of Guiſe, more than counterbalanced all Montmorency's prudent remonſtrances, and prevailed on an inconſiderate Prince to liſten to the overtures of the Pope's envoy.

Cardinal of Lorrain ſent to negociate with the Pope.

THE cardinal of Lorrain, as he had expected, was immediately ſent to Rome with full powers to conclude the treaty, and to concert meaſures for carrying it into execution. Meanwhile, the Pope, either from reflecting on the danger and uncertain iſſue

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of all military operations, or through the addreſs of the Imperial ambaſſador who had been at great pains to ſooth him, had not only begun to loſe much of the ardour with which he had ſet on foot the negociation with France, but even diſcovered great unwillingneſs to continue it. In order to rouſe him from this fit of deſpondency, and to rekindle his former rage, his nephews had recourſe to the arts which they had already practiſed with ſo much ſucceſs. They alarmed him with new repreſentations of the Emperor's hoſtile intentions, with freſh accounts which they had received of threats uttered againſt him by the Imperial miniſters, and with new diſcoveries which they pretended to have made of conſpiracies formed, and juſt ready to take effect againſt his life.

Paul enraged at the proceedings of the diet of Augſburg.

BUT theſe artifices, having been formerly tried, would not have operated a ſecond time with the ſame force, nor have made the impreſſion which they wiſhed, if Paul had not been excited by an offence of that kind which he was leaſt able to bear. He received advice of the receſs of the diet of Augſburg, and of the toleration which was thereby granted to the Proteſtants, and this threw him at once into ſuch tranſports of paſſion againſt the Emperor and King of the Romans, as carried him headlong into all the violent meaſures of his nephews. Full of high ideas with reſpect to the papal prerogative, and animated with the fierceſt zeal againſt hereſy, he conſidered the liberty of deciding concerning religious matters, which had been aſſumed by an aſſembly compoſed partly of laymen, as a preſumptuous and unpardonable encroachment on that juriſdiction which belonged to him alone; and regarded the indulgence which had been given to the Proteſtants as an impious act of that power which the diet had uſurped. He complained loudly of both to the Imperial ambaſſador. He inſiſted that the receſs of the diet

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His nephews took care to applaud and cheriſh theſe ſentiments, and eaſily wrought up his arrogant mind, fraught with all the monkiſh ideas concerning the extent of the papal ſupremacy, to ſuch a pitch of reſentment againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and to ſuch an high opinion of his own power, that he talked continually of his being the ſucceſſor of thoſe who had depoſed Kings and Emperors; that he was exalted as head over them all, and would trample ſuch as oppoſed him under his feet. In this diſpoſition, the cardinal of Lorrain found the Pope, and eaſily perſuaded him to ſign a treaty, which had for its object, the ruin of a Prince againſt whom he was ſo highly exaſperated. The ſtipulations in the treaty were much the ſame as had been propoſed by the Pope's envoy at Paris; and it was agreed to keep the whole tranſaction ſecret until their united forces ſhould be ready to take the field [r].

And exaſperated by his nephew.

Decem. 15. Concludes a treaty with France.

DURING the negociation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened which ſeemed to render the fears which had given riſe to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unneceſſary. This was the Emperor's reſignation of his hereditary dominions to his ſon Philip; together with his reſolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in buſineſs or the affairs of this world, in order that he might ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement and ſolitude. Though it requires neither deep reflection nor extraordinary diſcernment to diſcover that the ſtate of royalty is not exempt from cares and diſappointment; though moſt of thoſe who are exalted to a throne find ſolicitude, and fatiety, and diſguſt to be their perpetual atten-

The Emperor reſolves to reſign his hereditary dominions.

[r] Pallav. lib. 13. p. 163. F. Paul 365. Thuan. lib. xv. 525. lib. xvi. 540. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 609, &c.

dants

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dants in that envied pre-eminence; yet, to deſcend voluntarily from the ſupreme to a ſubordinate ſtation, and to relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of power in order to attain the enjoyment of happineſs, ſeems to be an effort too great for the human mind. Several inſtances, indeed, occur in hiſtory of Monarchs who have quitted a throne, and have ended their days in retirement. But they were either weak Princes who took this reſolution raſhly, and repented of it as ſoon as it was taken; or unfortunate Princes from whoſe hands ſome ſtrong rival had wreſted their ſceptre, and compelled them to deſcend with reluctance into a private ſtation. Diocleſian is perhaps the only Prince capable of holding the reins of government, who ever reſigned them from deliberate choice, and who continued during many years to enjoy the tranquillity of retirement without fetching one penitent ſigh, or caſting back one look of deſire, towards the power or dignity which he had abandoned.

The motives of this reſignation.

No wonder, then, that Charles's reſignation ſhould fill all Europe with aſtoniſhment, and give riſe, both among his contemporaries, and among the hiſtorians of that period, to various conjectures concerning the motives, which determined a Prince, whoſe ruling paſſion had been uniformly the love of power, at the age of fifty ſix, when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are purſued with the greateſt ardour, to take a reſolution ſo ſingular and unexpected. But while many authors have imputed it to motives ſo frivolous and fantaſtical, as can hardly be ſuppoſed to influence any reaſonable mind; while others have imagined it to be the reſult of ſome profound ſcheme of policy; hiſtorians more intelligent, and better informed, neither aſcribe it to caprice, nor ſearch for myſterious ſecrets of ſtate, where ſimple and obvious cauſes will fully account

count for the Emperor's conduct. Charles had been attacked early in life with the gout, and notwithſtanding all the precautions of the moſt ſkilful phyſicians in his time, the violence of the diſtemper encreaſed as he advanced in age, and the fits became every year more frequent, as well as more intolerable. Not only was the vigour of his conſtitution broken, but the faculties of his mind were impaired by the excruciating torments which he endured. During the continuance of the fits, he was altogether incapable of applying to buſineſs, and even when they began to abate, as it was only at intervals that he could attend to what was ſerious, he gave up the greateſt part of his time to trifling and even childiſh occupations, which ſerved to relieve or to amuſe his mind, enfeebled and worn out with exceſs of pain. Under theſe circumſtances, the conduct of ſuch affairs as occurred, of courſe, in governing ſo many kingdoms was a burden more than ſufficient; but to puſh forward and compleat the vaſt ſchemes, which the ambition of his more active years had formed, or to keep in view and carry on the ſame great ſyſtem of policy, extending to every nation in Europe, and connected with the operations of every different court, were taſks, which far exceeded his ſtrength, and oppreſſed and overwhelmed his mind. As he had been long accuſtomed to view the buſineſs of every department, whether civil, or military, or eccleſiaſtical, with his own eyes, and to decide concerning it according to his own ideas; it gave him the utmoſt pain, when he felt his infirmities encreaſe ſo faſt upon him, that he was obliged to commit the conduct of all affairs to his miniſters. He imputed every misfortune which befel him, and every miſcarriage that happened, even when the former was unavoidable, and the latter accidental, to his inability to take the inſpection of buſineſs himſelf. He complained

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of his hard fortune, in being oppoſed, in his declining years, to a rival, who was in the full vigour of life, and that while Henry could take and execute all his reſolutions in perſon, he ſhould now be reduced, both in council and in action, to rely on the abilities of other men. Having thus grown old before his time, he wiſely judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in ſome ſolitude, than to expoſe them any longer to the publick eye; and prudently determined not to forfeit the fame, or loſe the acquiſitions of his better years, by ſtruggling, with a vain obſtinacy, to retain the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with ſteadineſs, or to guide them with addreſs *.

* Dom Leveſque in his memoirs of cardinal Granvelle gives a reaſon for the Emperor's reſignation, which, as I recollect, is not mentioned by any other hiſtorian. He ſays, that the Emperor having ceded the government of the kingdom of Naples and the dutchy of Milan to his ſon, upon his marriage with the Queen of England; Philip, notwithſtanding the advice and intreaties of his father, removed all the miniſters and officers in thoſe countries, and appointed creatures of his own, to fill the places which they held. That he aſpired openly, and with little delicacy, to obtain a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs, in the Low-Countries. That he endeavoured to thwart the Emperor's meaſures, and to limit his authority, behaving towards him ſometimes with inattention, and ſometimes with haughtineſs. That Charles finding that he muſt either yield to his ſon, or openly contend with him, in order to avoid theſe, which were both diſagreeable and mortifying to a father, he took the reſolution of reſigning his crowns, and of retiring from the world, vol. i. p. 24, &c. Dom Leveſque derived his information concerning theſe curious facts, which he relates very briefly, from the original papers of cardinal Granvelle. But as that vaſt collection of papers, one of the moſt valuable hiſtorical monuments of the ſixteenth century, and which could not fail of throwing much light on the tranſactions of Charles V, though preſerved and arranged by M. L'Abbé Boiſot of Beſancon, is not publiſhed, I cannot determine what degree of credit ſhould be given to this account of Charles's reſignation. I have therefore taken no notice of it in relating this event.

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Circumſtances which had retarded it.

BUT though Charles had revolved this ſcheme in his mind for ſeveral years, and had communicated it to his ſiſters the dowager Queens of France and Hungary, who not only approved of his intention, but offered to accompany him to whatever place of retreat he ſhould chooſe; ſeveral things had hitherto prevented his carrying it into execution. He could not think of loading his ſon with the government of ſo many kingdoms, until he ſhould attain ſuch maturity of age, and of abilities, as would enable him to ſuſtain that weighty burden; but as Philip had now reached his twenty-eighth year, and had been early accuſtomed to buſineſs, for which he diſcovered both inclination and capacity, it can hardly be imputed to the partiality of paternal affection, that his ſcruples, with regard to this point, were entirely removed; and that he thought he might, without further heſitation or delay, place him on the throne which he was about to abandon. His mother's ſituation had been another obſtruction in his way. For although ſhe had continued almoſt fifty years in confinement, and under the ſame diſorder of mind which concern for her huſband's death had brought upon her, yet the government of Spain, was ſtill veſted in her jointly with the Emperor; her name was inſerted together with his, in all the publick writs iſſued in that kingdom; and ſuch was the fond attachment of the Spaniards to her, that they would probably have ſcrupled to recognize Philip as their ſovereign, unleſs ſhe had conſented to aſſume him as her partner on the throne. Her utter incapacity for buſineſs rendered it impoſſible to obtain this. But her death, which happened this year, removed this difficulty; and as Charles, upon that event, became ſole Monarch of Spain, it left the ſucceſſion open to his ſon. The war with France had likewiſe been a reaſon for retaining the adminiſtration of affairs in his own hand, as he was

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extremely ſolicitous to have terminated it, that he might have given up his kingdoms to his ſon at peace with all the world. But as Henry had diſcovered no diſpoſition to cloſe with any of his overtures, and had even rejected propoſals of peace, which were equal and moderate, in a tone, that ſeemed to indicate a fixed purpoſe of continuing hoſtilities, he ſaw that it was vain to wait longer in expectation of an event, which, how deſirable ſoever, was altogether uncertain.

The formalities with which he executed it.

As this, then, appeared to be the proper juncture for executing the ſcheme which he had long meditated, Charles reſolved to reſign his kingdoms to his ſon, with a ſolemnity ſuitable to the importance of the tranſaction, and to perform this laſt act of ſovereignty, with ſuch formal pomp, as might leave a laſting impreſſion on the minds not only of his ſubjects but of his ſucceſſor. With this view he called Philip out of England, where the peeviſh temper of his Queen, which increaſed with her deſpair of having iſſue, rendered him extremely unhappy, and the jealouſy of the Engliſh left him no hopes of obtaining the direction of their affairs. Having aſſembled the States of the Low-Countries at Bruſſels, on the twenty-fifth of October, he ſeated himſelf, for the laſt time, in the chair of ſtate, on one ſide of which was placed his ſon, and on the other his ſiſter the Queen of Hungary regent of the Netherlands, with a ſplendid retinue of the grandees of Spain and princes of the Empire ſtanding behind him. The preſident of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained in a few words his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the States. He then read the inſtrument of reſignation by which Charles ſurrendered to his ſon Philip all his territories, juriſdiction, and authority in the Low-Countries, abſolving his ſubjects there from

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their oath of allegiance to him, which he required them to transfer to Philip his lawful heir, and to ſerve him with the ſame loyalty and zeal that they had manifeſted, during ſo long a courſe of years, in ſupport of his government.

CHARLES then roſe from his ſeat, and leaning on the ſhoulder of the Prince of Orange, becauſe he was unable to ſtand without ſupport, he addreſſed himſelf to the audience, and from a paper which he held in his hand, in order to aſſiſt his memory, he recounted, with dignity, but without oſtentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed ſince the commencement of his adminiſtration. He obſerved, that from the ſeventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to publick objects, reſerving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his eaſe, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleaſure; that either in a pacifick or hoſtile manner, he had viſited Germany nine times, Spain ſix times, France four times, Italy ſeven times, the Low-Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by ſea; that while his health permitted him to diſcharge his duty, and the vigour of his conſtitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous office of governing ſuch extenſive dominions, he had never ſhunned labour, nor repined under fatigue; that now when his health was broken, and his vigour exhauſted by the rage of an incurable diſtemper, his growing infirmities admoniſhed him to retire, nor was he ſo fond of reigning, as to retain the ſceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his ſubjects, or to render them happy; that inſtead of a ſovereign worn out with diſeaſes, and ſcarce half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accuſtomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour of youth all the attention and ſagacity of maturer years; that, if during the

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THEN turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kiſſed his father's hand, "If, ſays he, I had left you by my death this rich inheritance, to which I have made ſuch large additions, ſome regard would have been juſtly due to my memory on that account; but now when I voluntarily reſign to you what I might have ſtill retained, I may well expect the warmeſt expreſſions of thanks on your part. With theſe, however, I diſpenſe, and ſhall conſider your concern for the welfare of your ſubjects, and your love of them, as the beſt and moſt acceptable teſtimony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, by a wiſe and virtuous adminiſtration, to juſtify the extraordinary proof which I give this day of my paternal affection, and to demonſtrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repoſe in you. Preſerve an inviolable regard for religion; maintain the Catholick faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be ſacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people; and if the time ſhall ever come, when you ſhall wiſh to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a ſon endowed with ſuch qualities, that you can reſign your ſceptre to him, with as much ſatisfaction, as I give up mine to you."

As ſoon as Charles had finiſhed this long addreſs to his ſubjects and to their new ſovereign, he ſunk into the chair, exhauſted and ready to faint with the fatigue of ſuch an extraordinary effort. During his diſcourſe, the whole audience melted into tears, ſome from admiration of his magnanimity, others ſoftened by the expreſſions of tenderneſs towards his ſon, and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepeſt ſorrow at loſing a ſovereign, who had diſtinguiſhed the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of his regard and attachment.

PHILIP then aroſe from his knees, and after returning thanks to his father, with a low and ſubmiſſive voice, for the royal gift which his unexampled bounty had beſtowed upon him, he addreſſed the aſſembly of the ſtates, and regretting his inability to ſpeak the Flemiſh language with ſuch facility as to expreſs what he felt on this intereſting occaſion, as well as what he owed to his good ſubjects in the Netherlands, he begged that they would allow Granvelle biſhop of Arras, to deliver what he had given him in charge to ſpeak in his name. Granvelle, in a long diſcourſe, expatiated on the zeal with which Philip was animated for the good of his ſubjects, on his reſolution to devote all his time and talents to the promoting of their happineſs, and on his intention to imitate his father's example in diſtinguiſhing the Netherlands with peculiar marks of his regard. Maës, a lawyer of great eloquence, replied, in name of the States, with large profeſſions of their fidelity and affection to their new ſovereign.

THEN Mary, Queen-dowager of Hungary, reſigned the regency, with which ſhe had been entruſted by her brother during the ſpace of twenty-five years. Next day Philip, in preſence of the States, took the uſual oaths to maintain the

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rights and privileges of his ſubjects; and all the members, in their own name, and in that of their conſtituents, ſwore allegiance to him [1].

A FEW weeks thereafter, Charles, in an aſſembly no leſs ſplendid, and with a ceremonial equally pompous, reſigned to his ſon the crowns of Spain, with all the territories depending on them, both in the old and in the new world. Of all theſe vaſt poſſeſſions, he reſerved nothing for himſelf but an annual penſion of an hundred thouſand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a ſmall ſum for acts of beneficence and charity [2].

As

[1] Godleveus Relatio Abdicationis Car. V. ap. Goldaſt. Polit. Imper. p. 377. Strada de Bello Belgico, lib. i. p. 5.

[2] The Emperor's reſignation is an event not only of ſuch importance, but of ſuch a nature, that the preciſe date of it, one would expect, ſhould have been aſcertained by hiſtorians with the greateſt accuracy. There is, however, an amazing and unaccountable diverſity among them with regard to this point. All agree that the deed by which Charles transferred to his ſon his dominions in the Netherlands, bears date at Bruſſels the 25th of October. Sandoval fixes on the 28th of October as the day on which the ceremony of reſignation happened, and he was preſent at the tranſaction, vol. ii. p. 592. Godleveus who publiſhed a treatiſe de Abdicatione Caroli V. fixes the publick ceremony as well as the date of the inſtrument of reſignation on the 25th. Peré Barre, I know not on what authority, fixes it on the 24th of November. Hiſt. D'Alem. viii. 976. Herrera agrees with Godleveus in ſentiment, tom. i. 155. as likewiſe does Pallavicini, whoſe authority with reſpect to dates, and every thing where a minute accuracy is requiſite, is of great weight. Hiſt. lib. xvi. p. 168. Hiſtorians differ no leſs with regard to the day on which Charles reſigned the crowns of Spain to his ſon. According to M. de Thou, it was a month after his having reſigned his dominions in the Netherlands, i. e. about the 25th of November, Thuan. lib. 16. p. 571. According to Sandoval it was on the 16th January 1556. Sand. ii. 603. Antonia de Vera agrees with him, Epitome del Vida del Car. V. p. 110. According to Pallavicini it was on the 17th. Pal. lib. xvi. p. 168. and with him Herrera agrees, Vida del D. Felipe, tom. i. p. 233. But Ferreras fixes it on the firſt day of January, Hiſt. Gener.

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As he had fixed on a place of retreat in Spain, hoping that the dryneſs of the air and warmth of the climate in that country might mitigate the violence of his diſeaſe, which had been much encreaſed by the moiſture of the air and the rigour of the winters in the Netherlands, he was extremely impatient to embark for that kingdom, and to diſengage himſelf entirely from buſineſs, which he found to be impoſſible while he remained in Bruſſels. But his phyſicians remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly againſt his venturing to ſea at that cold and boiſterous ſeaſon of the year, that he conſented, though with reluctance, to put off his voyage for ſome months.

Reſolves to fix his reſidence in Spain.

Obliged to remain for ſome time in the Netherlands.

By yielding to their intreaties, he had the ſatisfaction, before he left the Low-Countries, of taking a conſiderable ſtep towards a peace with France, which he ardently wiſhed for, not only on his ſon's account, but that he might have the merit, when quitting the world, of re-eſtabliſhing that tranquillity in Europe, which he had baniſhed out of it almoſt from the time that he aſſumed the adminiſtration of affairs. Some time previous to his reſignation, commiſſioners had been appointed by him and by the French King, in order to treat of an exchange of priſoners. In their conferences at the abbey of Vaucelles, near Cambray, an expedient was accidentally propoſed for terminating hoſtilities

Promotes the negociation for peace.

Gener. tom. ix. p. 371. M. de Beaucaire ſuppoſes the reſignation of the crown of Spain to have been executed a few days after the reſignation of the Netherlands. Com. de Reb. Gall. p. 879. It is remarkable that in the treaty of truce, at Vaucelles, though Charles had made over all his dominions to his ſon ſome weeks previous to the concluſion of it, all the ſtipulations are in the Emperor's name, and Philip is only deſigned King of England and Naples. It is certain Philip was not proclaimed King of Caſtile, &c. at Valladolid ſooner than the 24th of March. Sandov. ii. p. 606, and previous to that ceremony, he did not chuſe, it would ſeem, to aſſume the title of King of any of his Spaniſh kingdoms, or to perform any act of royal juriſdiction. In a deed annexed to the treaty of truce, dated April 19th, he aſſumes the title of King of Caſtile, &c. in the uſual ſtile of the Spaniſh monarchs in that age. Corps Dipl. tom. iv. Append. p. 85.

betwixt

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betwixt the contending monarchs, by a long truce, during the ſubſiſtance of which, and without diſcuſſing their reſpective claims, each ſhould retain what was in his poſſeſſion. Charles, ſenſible how much his kingdoms were exhauſted by the expenſive and almoſt continual wars in which his ambition had engaged him, and eager to gain for his ſon a ſhort interval of peace, that he might eſtabliſh himſelf firmly on his throne, declared warmly for cloſing with the overture, though manifeſtly diſhonourable as well as diſadvantageous; and ſuch was the reſpect due to his wiſdom and experience, that Philip, notwithſtanding his unwillingneſs to purchaſe peace by ſuch conceſſions, did not preſume to urge his opinion in oppoſition to that of his father.

A truce concluded.

HENRY could not have heſitated one moment about giving his conſent to a truce on ſuch conditions, as would leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of the greater part of the Duke of Savoy's dominions, together with the important conqueſts which he had made on the German frontier. But it was no eaſy matter to reconcile ſuch a ſtep with the engagements that he had come under to the Pope, in his late treaty with him. The Conſtable Montmorency, however, repreſented in ſuch a ſtriking light, the imprudence of ſacrificing the true intereſts of his kingdom to theſe raſh obligations, and took ſuch advantage of the abſence of the Cardinal of Lorrain, who had ſeduced the King into his alliance with the Caraffas, that Henry, naturally fluctuating and unſteady, and apt to be influenced by the advice laſt given him, authorized his ambaſſadors to ſign a treaty of truce with the Emperor for five years, on the terms which had been propoſed. But that he might not ſeem to have altogether forgotten his ally the Pope, who he foreſaw would be highly exaſperated, he, in order to ſooth him, took care that he ſhould be expreſly included in the truce [a].

5th Feb.

[a] Mem. de Ribier. ii. 626. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. App. 81.

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THE Count of Lalain repaired to Blois, and the Admiral Coligny to Bruſſels, the former to be preſent when the King of France, and the latter when the Emperor and his ſon, ratified the treaty and bound themſelves by oath to obſerve it[t]. When an account of the conferences at Vaucelles, and of the conditions of truce which had been propoſed there, were firſt carried to Rome, it gave the Pope no manner of diſquiet. He truſted ſo much to the honour of the French monarch, that he would not allow himſelf to think that Henry could forget ſo ſoon, or violate ſo ſhamefully, all the ſtipulations in his league with him. He had ſuch an high opinion of the Emperor's wiſdom, that he made no doubt of his refuſing his conſent to a truce on ſuch unequal terms; and on both theſe accounts he confidently pronounced that this, like many preceding negociations, would terminate in nothing. But later and more certain intelligence ſoon convinced him that in political affairs no reaſoning is more fallacious, than, becauſe an event is improbable, to conclude that it will not happen. The ſudden and unexpected concluſion of the truce filled Paul with aſtoniſhment and terror. The Cardinal of Lorrain durſt not encounter that ſtorm of indignation, to which he knew he ſhould be expoſed from the haughty Pontiff, who had ſo good reaſon to be incenſed; but departing abruptly from Rome, he left to the Cardinal Tournon the difficult taſk of attempting to ſooth Paul and his nephews. They were fully

Ratified by both monarchs.

The Pope's aſtoniſhment and diſtreſs.

[t] One of Admiral Coligny's attendants, who wrote to the court of France an account of what happened while they reſided at Bruſſels, takes notice, as an inſtance of Philip's impoliteneſs, that he received the French ambaſſador in an apartment hung with tapeſtry, which repreſented the battle of Pavia, the manner in which Francis I. was taken priſoner, his voyage to Spain, with all the circumſtances of his captivity and impriſonment at Madrid. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 634.

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ſenſible of the perilous ſituation in which they now ſtood. By their engagements with France, which were no longer ſecret, they had highly irritated Philip. They dreaded the violence of his implacable temper. The Duke of Alva, a miniſter, fitted as well by his abilities as by the ſeverity of his nature, for executing all Philip's rigorous ſchemes, had advanced from Milan to Naples, and began to aſſemble troops on the frontiers of the Eccleſiaſtical State. While they, if deſerted by France, muſt not only relinquiſh all the hopes of dominion and ſovereignty to which their ambition aſpired, but remain expoſed to the reſentment of the Spaniſh monarch, without one ally to protect them againſt an enemy with whom they were ſo little able to contend.

He attempts to rekindle the war.

UNDER theſe circumſtances, Paul had recourſe to the arts of negociation and intrigue, of which the Papal court knows well how to avail itſelf in order to ward off any calamity threatened by an enemy ſuperior in power. He affected to approve highly of the truce, as an happy expedient for putting a ſtop to the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. He expreſſed his warmeſt wiſhes that it might prove the forerunner of a definitive peace. He exhorted the rival Princes to embrace this favourable opportunity of ſetting on foot a negociation for that purpoſe, and offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext, he appointed Cardinal Rebiba his nuncio to the court of Bruſſels, and his nephew Cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. The publick inſtructions given to both were the ſame; that they ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevail with the two monarchs to accept of the Pope's mediation, that by means of it, peace might be re-eſtabliſhed, and meaſures

might be taken for assembling a general council. But under this specious appearance of zeal for attaining objects so desirable in themselves, and so becoming his sacred character to pursue, Paul concealed very different intentions. Caraffa, besides his publick instructions, received a private commission to sollicit the French King to renounce the treaty of truce, and to renew his engagements with the Holy See, and he was impowered to spare neither entreaties, nor promises, nor bribes, in order to gain that point. This, both the uncle and the nephew considered as the real end of the embassy; while the other served to amuse the vulgar, or to deceive the Emperor and his son. The Cardinal, accordingly, set out instantly for Paris, and travelled with the greatest expedition, while Rebiba was detained some weeks at Rome; and when it became necessary for him to begin his journey, he received secret orders to protract it as much as possible, that the issue of Caraffa's negociation might be known before he should reach Brussels, and according to that, proper directions might be given to him with regard to the tone which he should assume, in treating with the Emperor and his son [a]. BOOK XI. 1556. 11th May.

CARAFFA made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp; and having presented a consecrated sword to Henry, as the protector, on whose aid the Pope relied in the present exigency, he besought him not to disregard the entreaties of a parent in distress, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. This he represented not only as a duty of filial piety, but as an act of justice. As the Pope, from confidence in the assistance and support which his late treaty with His negociations for that purpose.

[a] Pallav. lib. xiii. p. 169. Burnet Hist. of Reform. ii. App. 309.

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France entitled him to expect, had taken such steps as had irritated the King of Spain, he conjured Henry not to suffer Paul and his family to be crushed under the weight of that resentment which they had drawn on themselves merely by their attachment to France. Together with this argument addressed to his generosity, he employed another which he hoped would work on his ambition. He affirmed that now was the time, when, with the most certain prospect of success, he might attack Philip's dominions in Italy; that the flower of the veteran Spanish bands had perished in the wars of Hungary, Germany, and the Low-countries; that the Emperor had left his son an exhausted treasury, and kingdoms drained of men; that he had no longer to contend with the abilities, the experience, and good fortune of Charles, but with a monarch scarce seated on his throne, unpractised in command, odious to many of the Italian States, and dreaded by all; that the Pope, who had already levied soldiers, would bring a considerable army into the field, which when joined by a sufficient number of French troops, might, by one brisk and sudden effort, drive the Spaniards out of Naples, and add to the crown of France a kingdom, the conquest of which had been the great object of all his predecessors during half a century, and the chief motive of all their expeditions into Italy.

Their effect. July 31.

Every word Caraffa spoke made a deep impression on Henry; conscious, on the one hand, that the Pope had just cause to reproach him with not having consulted the laws either of generosity or of decency, when he renounced his league with him, and had agreed to the truce of Vaucelles; and eager, on the other hand, not only to distinguish his reign by a conquest,

which three former monarchs had attempted without ſucceſs, but likewiſe to acquire an eſtabliſhment of ſuch dignity and value for one of his ſons. Reverence, however, for the oath, by which he had ſo lately confirmed the truce of Vaucelles; the extreme old age of the Pope, whoſe death might occaſion an intire revolution in the political ſyſtem of Italy; together with the repreſentations of Montmorency, who repeated all the arguments that he had uſed againſt the firſt league with Paul, and pointed out the great and immediate advantages which France derived from the truce; kept Henry for ſome time in ſuſpence, and might poſſibly have outweighed all Caraffa's arguments. But the Cardinal was not ſuch a novice in the arts of intrigue and negociation, as not to have expedients ready for removing or ſurmounting all theſe obſtacles. To obviate the King's ſcruple with regard to his oath, he produced powers from the Pope to abſolve him from the obligation of it. By way of ſecurity againſt any danger which he might apprehend from the Pope's death, he engaged that his uncle would make ſuch a nomination of Cardinals, as ſhould give Henry the abſolute command of the next election, and enable him to place in the Papal chair a perſon entirely devoted to his intereſt. BOOK XI. 1556.

In order to counterbalance the effect of the Conſtable's opinion and influence, he employed not only the active talents of the Duke of Guiſe, and the eloquence of his brother the Cardinal of Lorrain, but the addreſs of the Queen, aided by the more powerful arts of Diana of Poitiers, who, unfortunately for France, co-operated with Catharine in this point, though ſhe took pleaſure, on almoſt every other occaſion, to thwart and mortify her. They, by their united ſolicitations, eaſily ſwayed the King, who leaned

Book XI. 1556. leaned of his own accord to that ſide, towards which they wiſhed him to incline. All Montmorency's prudent remonſtrances were diſregarded; the nuncio abſolved Henry from his oath; and he ſigned a new league with the Pope, which rekindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low-Countries.

July 31.

The Pope's violent proceedings againſt Philip.

As ſoon as Paul was informed by his nephew that there was a fair proſpect of his ſucceeding in this negociation, he diſpatched a meſſenger after the nuncio Rebiba, with orders to return to Rome, without proceeding to Bruſſels. As it was now no longer neceſſary to preſerve that tone of moderation, which ſuited the character of a mediator, and which he had affected to aſſume, or to put any farther reſtraint upon his reſentment againſt Philip, he boldly threw off the maſk, and took ſuch violent ſteps as rendered a rupture unavoidable. He ſeized and impriſoned the Spaniſh envoy at his court. He excommunicated the Collonna's; and having deprived Mark Antonio, the head of that family, of the dukedom of Paliana, he granted that dignity, together with the territory annexed to it, to his nephew the Count of Montorio. He ordered a legal information to be preſented in the conſiſtory of Cardinals againſt Philip, ſetting forth that he, notwithſtanding the fidelity and allegiance due by him to the Holy See, of which he held the crown of Naples, had not only afforded a retreat in his dominions to the Colonna's, whom the Pope had excommunicated and declared rebels, but had furniſhed them with arms, and was ready, in conjunction with them, to invade the Eccleſiaſtical State in an hoſtile manner; that ſuch conduct in a vaſſal was to be deemed treaſon againſt his liege lord, the puniſhment of which was the forfeiture

forfeiture of his fief. Upon this the conſiſtorial advocate requeſted the Pope to take cognizance of the cauſe, and to appoint a day for hearing of it, when he would make good every article of the charge, and expect from his juſtice that ſentence which the heinouſneſs of Philip's crimes merited. Paul, whoſe pride was highly flattered with the idea of trying and paſſing judgment on ſo great a King, aſſented to his requeſt; and as if it had been no leſs eaſy to execute than to pronounce ſentence, declared that he would conſult with the Cardinals concerning the formalities requiſite in conducting the trial [x]. BOOK XII. 1556. July 27.

BUT while Paul allowed his pride and reſentment to drive him on with ſuch headlong impetuoſity, Philip diſcovered an amazing moderation on his part. He had been taught by the Spaniſh eccleſiaſticks who had the charge of his education, a profound veneration for the Holy See. This ſentiment, which had been early infuſed, grew up with him as he advanced in years, and took full poſſeſſion of his mind, which was naturally thoughtful, ſerious, and prone to ſuperſtition. When he foreſaw a rupture with the Pope approaching, he had ſuch violent ſcruples with reſpect to the lawfulneſs of taking arms againſt the Vicegerent of Chriſt, and the common father of all Chriſtians, that he conſulted ſome Spaniſh divines upon that point. Though they, with the uſual dexterity of caſuiſts in accommodating their reſponſes to the circumſtances of thoſe who apply to them for direction, aſſured him that, after employing prayers and remonſtrances in order to bring the Pope to reaſon, he had full right, both by the laws of nature and of Chriſtianity, not only to defend himſelf when attacked, but to begin Philip's ſuperſtitious ſcruples.

[x] Pallav. lib. xiii. 171.

hoſtilities,

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hoſtilities, if that were judged the moſt proper expedient, for preventing the effects of Paul's violence and injuſtice: Yet Philip ſtill deliberated and delayed, conſidering it as a moſt cruel misfortune, that his adminiſtration ſhould open with an attack on a perſon, whoſe ſacred function and character he ſo highly reſpected [y].

The Duke of Alva takes the field againſt the Pope.

Sept. 5.

AT laſt the Duke of Alva, who, in compliance with his maſter's ſcruples, had continued to negociate long after he ſhould have begun to act, finding Paul inexorable, and that every overture of peace, and every appearance of heſitation on his part encreaſed the Pontiff's natural arrogance, took the field and entered the eccleſiaſtical territories. His army did not exceed twelve thouſand men, but it was compoſed of veteran ſoldiers, and commanded chiefly by thoſe Roman barons, whom Paul's violence had driven into exile. The valour of the troops, and the animoſity of their leaders who fought in their own quarrel, and to recover their own eſtates, ſupplied the want of numbers. As none of the French forces were yet arrived, Alva ſoon became maſter of the Compagna Romana; ſome cities being ſurrendered through the cowardice of the garriſons, which conſiſted of raw ſoldiers, ill diſciplined, and worſe commanded; the gates of others being opened by the inhabitants, who were eager to receive back their ancient maſters. Alva, that he might not be taxed with impiety in ſeizing the patrimony of the church, took poſſeſſion of the towns which capitulated, in the name of the college of cardinals, to which, or to the Pope that ſhould be choſen to ſucceed Paul, he declared that he would immediately reſtore them.

[y] Ferrer. Hiſt. de Eſpagne ix. 373. Herrera, i. 308.

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THE rapid progreſs of the Spaniards, whoſe light troops made inroads to the gates of Rome, filled that city with conſternation; and Paul, though inflexible and undaunted himſelf, was obliged to give way ſo far to the fears and ſolicitations of the Cardinals, as to ſend deputies to Alva in order to propoſe a ceſſation of arms. The Pope yielded the more readily, as he was ſenſible of a double advantage which might be derived from obtaining that point. It would deliver the inhabitants of Rome from their preſent terror, and would afford time for the arrival of the ſuccours which he expected from France. Nor was Alva unwilling to cloſe with the overture, both as he knew how deſirous his maſter was to terminate a war, which he had undertaken with reluctance, and as his army was ſo much weakened by garriſoning the great number of towns which he had reduced, that it was ſcarce in a condition to keep the field without freſh recruits. A truce was accordingly concluded firſt for ten, and afterwards for forty days, during which, various ſchemes of peace were propoſed, and perpetual negociations were carried on, but with no ſincerity on the part of the Pope. The return of his nephew the Cardinal to Rome, the receipt of a conſiderable ſum remitted by the King of France, the arrival of one body of French troops, together with the expectation of others which had begun their march, rendered him more arrogant than ever, and baniſhed all thoughts from his mind, but thoſe of war and revenge [a].

A truce between the Pope and Philip.

Nov. 19.

[a] Pallav. lib. xiii. 177. Thuan. lib. xvii. 368. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 664.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK XII.

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Charles's new attempt to alter the ſucceſſion of the Empire.

WHILE theſe operations or intrigues kept the Pope and Philip buſy and attentive, the Emperor diſentangled himſelf finally from all the affairs of this world, and ſet out for the place of his retreat. He had hitherto retained the Imperial dignity not from any unwillingneſs to relinquiſh it, for after having reſigned the real and extenſive authority that he enjoyed in his hereditary dominions, to part with the limited and often ideal juriſdiction, which belongs to an elective crown, was no great ſacrifice. His ſole motive for delay was to gain a few months, for making one trial more, in order to accompliſh his favourite ſcheme in behalf of his ſon. At the very time Charles ſeemed to be moſt ſenſible of the vanity of worldly grandeur,

and

and when he appeared to be quitting it not only with indifference, but with contempt, the vaſt ſchemes of ambition, which had ſo long occupied and engroſſed his mind, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of it. He could not think of leaving his ſon, among the Princes of Europe, in a rank inferior to that which he himſelf had held. As he had, ſome years before, made a fruitleſs attempt to ſecure the Imperial crown to Philip, that by uniting it to the kingdoms of Spain, and the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy, he might put it in his power to proſecute, with a better proſpect of ſucceſs, thoſe great plans, which his own infirmities had obliged him to abandon, he was ſtill unwilling to relinquiſh this flattering project as chimerical or unattainable.

NOTWITHSTANDING the repulſe which he had formerly met with from his brother Ferdinand, he renewed his ſollicitations with freſh importunity, and during the ſummer, had tried every art, and employed every argument, which he thought could induce him to quit the Imperial throne to Philip, and to accept of the inveſtiture of ſome province, either in Italy, or in the Low-Countries, as an equivalent *. But Ferdinand, who was ſo firm and inflexible with regard to this point, that he had paid no regard to the ſolicitations of the Emperor, even when they were enforced with all the weight of authority, which accompanies ſupreme power, received the overture, that now came from him in the ſituation to which he had deſcended, with greater indifference, and would not deign to liſten to it. Charles, aſhamed of his own credulity

Which proves unſucceſsful.

* Ambaſſades des Noailles, tom. v. 356.

BOOK XII. 1556. in having imagined that he might accompliſh that now, which he had attempted formerly without ſucceſs, deſiſted finally from his ſcheme. He then reſigned the government of the Empire, and having transferred all his claims of obedience and allegiance from the Germanick body, to his brother the King
August 27. of the Romans, he executed a deed to that effect, with all the formalities, requiſite in ſuch an important tranſaction. The inſtrument of reſignation he committed to William Prince of Orange, and impowered him to lay it before the college of electors [b].

Charles ſets out for Spain.

NOTHING now remained to detain Charles from that retreat for which he lanquiſhed. Every thing having been prepared ſome time for his voyage, he ſet out for Zuitburg in Zealand, where the fleet had orders to rendezvous. In his way thither he paſſed through Ghent, and after ſtopping there a few days, to indulge that tender and pleaſant melancholy, which ariſes in the mind of every man in the decline of life, on viſiting the place of his nativity, and viewing the ſcenes and objects familiar to him in his early youth, he purſued his journey, accompanied by his ſon Philip, his daughter the archdutcheſs, his ſiſters the dowager Queens of France and Hungary, Maximilian his ſon-in-law, and a numerous retinue of the Flemiſh nobility. Before he went on board, he diſmiſſed them, with marks of his attention or regard, and taking leave of Philip with all the tenderneſs of a father who embraced his ſon for the laſt time, he ſet ſail on the ſeventeenth of September under convoy of a large fleet

[b] Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. pars i. 576.

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of Spaniſh, Flemiſh and Engliſh ſhips. He declined a preſſing invitation, from the Queen of England, to land in ſome part of her dominions, in order to refreſh himſelf, and that ſhe might have the comfort of ſeeing him once more. It cannot ſurely, ſaid he, be agreeable to a Queen to receive a viſit from a father-in-law, who is now nothing more than a private gentleman.

His arrival and reception there.

His voyage was proſperous and agreeable, and he arrived at Laredo in Biſcay on the eleventh day after he left Zealand. As ſoon as he landed, he fell proſtrate on the ground; and conſidering himſelf now as dead to the world, he kiſſed the earth, and ſaid, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked I now return to thee, thou common mother of mankind." From Laredo he purſued his journey to Burgos, carried by his attendants ſometimes in a chair, and ſometimes in a horſe litter, ſuffering exquiſite pain at every ſtep, and advancing with the greateſt difficulty. Some of the Spaniſh nobility repaired to Burgos in order to pay court to him, but they were ſo few in number, and their attendance was ſo negligent, that Charles obſerved it, and felt, for the firſt time, that he was no longer a Monarch. Accuſtomed from his early youth to the dutiful and officious reſpect with which thoſe who poſſeſs ſovereign power are attended, he had received it with the credulity common to Princes, and was weak enough to be mortified, when he now diſcovered, that he had been indebted to his fortune, for much of that obſequious regard, which he had fondly thought was paid to his perſonal qualities. But though he might have ſoon learned to forget the levity of his ſub-

jects,

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jects, or to have deſpiſed their neglect, he was more deeply afflicted with his ſon's ingratitude, who, forgetting already how much he owed to his father's bounty, obliged him to remain ſome weeks at Burgos, before he paid him the firſt moiety of that ſmall penſion, which was all that he had reſerved of ſo many kingdoms. As without this ſum, Charles could not diſmiſs his domeſticks with ſuch rewards as their ſervices merited, or his generoſity had deſtined for them, he could not help expreſſing both ſurprize and diſſatisfaction [b]. At laſt the money was paid, and Charles having diſmiſſed a great number of his domeſticks, whoſe attendance he thought would be ſuperfluous or cumberſome in his retirement, he proceeded to Valladolid. There he took a laſt and tender leave of his two ſiſters, whom he would not permit to accompany him to his ſolitude, though they entreated it with tears, not only that they might have the conſolation of contributing by their attendance and care to mitigate or to ſooth his ſufferings, but that they might reap inſtruction and benefit by joining with him in thoſe pious exercifes, to which he had conſecrated the remainder of his days.

The place of his retreat.

FROM Valladolid he continued his journey to Plazencia in Eſtremadura. He had paſſed through that city a great many years before, and having been ſtruck at that time with the delightful ſituation of the monaſtery of St. Juſtus belonging to the order of St. Jerome, not many miles diſtant from that place, he had then obſerved to ſome of his attendants, that this was a ſpot to which Diocleſian might have retired with pleaſure. The impreſſion had remained ſo ſtrong on his mind, that he pitched on it as the place of his retreat. It was ſeated in a vale of

[b] Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. 9.

no great extent, watered by a ſmall brook, and ſurrounded by riſing grounds, covered with lofty trees; both from the nature of the ſoil, and temperature of the climate, it was eſteemed the moſt healthful and delicious ſituation in Spain. Some months before his reſignation he had ſent an architect thither, to add a new apartment to the monaſtery, for his accommodation; but he gave ſtrict orders that the ſtile of the building ſhould be ſuch as ſuited his preſent ſtation, rather than his former dignity. It conſiſted only of ſix rooms, four of them in the form of Friars cells, with naked walls; and the other two, each twenty feet ſquare, were hung with brown cloth, and furniſhed in the moſt ſimple manner. They were all level with the ground; with a door on one ſide into a garden, of which Charles himſelf had given the plan, and had filled it with various plants, which he propoſed to cultivate with his own hands. On the other ſide it communicated with the chapel of the monaſtery, in which he was to perform his devotions. Into this humble retreat, ſcarce ſufficient for the comfortable accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles enter, with twelve domeſticks only. He buried there, in ſolitude and ſilence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all thoſe vaſt projects, which, during half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe, filling every kingdom in it, by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being ſubjected to his power[e].

1556.

1557. February 24.

Contraſt between the behaviour of Charles and the Pope.

The contraſt between Charles's conduct, and that of the Pope at this juncture, was ſo obvious, that it ſtruck even the moſt careleſs obſervers; nor was the compariſon which they made much to Paul's advantage. The former, a conqueror,

[e] Sandov. ii. 607. & Zuniga. 110. Thuan. lib. xvii. 609.

born

Book XII. born to reign, long accuſtomed to the ſplendor which accompa-
1557. nies ſupreme power, and to thoſe buſy and intereſting ſcenes in which an active ambition had engaged him, quitted the world, at an early period of life, that he might cloſe the evening of his days in tranquillity, and ſecure ſome interval for ſober thought, and ſerious recollection. The latter, a prieſt, who had paſſed the early part of his life in the ſhade of the ſchools, and in the ſtudy of the ſpeculative ſciences, who was ſeemingly ſo detached from the world, that he had ſhut himſelf up for many years in the ſolitude of a cloiſter, and who was not raiſed to the Papal throne until he had reached the extremity of old age, diſcovered at once all the impetuoſity of youthful ambition, and engaged in vaſt ſchemes, in order to accompliſh which, he ſcrupled not to ſcatter the ſeeds of diſcord and to kindle the flames of war in every corner of Europe. But Paul, regardleſs of the opinion and cenſures of mankind, held on his own courſe with his wonted arrogance and violence. Theſe, although they ſeemed already to have exceeded all bounds, roſe to ſtill a greater height, upon the arrival of the duke of Guiſe in Italy.

The duke of Guiſe leads the French army into Italy.

THAT which the two Princes of Lorrain foreſaw and deſired, had happened. The duke of Guiſe was entruſted with the command of the army appointed to march to the Pope's aſſiſtance. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand men, of the beſt troops in the ſervice of France. So high was the Duke's reputation, and ſuch the general expectation of beholding ſome extraordinary exertion of his courage and abilities in a war, into which he had precipitated his country, chiefly with the deſign of gaining a field where he might diſplay his own talents, that many of the French nobility, who had no command in the troops employed, accompanied him as volunteers. This army paſſed the

Alps

Alps in a rigorous ſeaſon, and advanced towards Rome, without any oppoſition from the Spaniards, who, as they were not ſtrong enough to act in different parts, had collected all their forces in one body on the frontiers of Naples, for the defence of that kingdom. Book XII. 1557.

The Pope renews hoſtilities againſt Philip.

EMBOLDENED by the approach of the French, the Pope let looſe all the fury of his reſentment againſt Philip, which, notwithſtanding the natural violence of his temper, prudential conſiderations had hitherto obliged him to keep under ſome reſtraint. He named commiſſioners, whom he empowered to paſs judgment in the ſuit, which the conſiſtorial advocate had commenced againſt Philip, in order to prove that he had forfeited the crown of Naples, by taking arms againſt the Holy See, of which he was a vaſſal. He recalled all the nuncios reſident in the courts of Charles V. of Philip, or of any of their allies. This was levelled chiefly againſt Cardinal Pole, the Papal legate in the court of England, whoſe great merit, in having contributed ſo ſucceſsfully to reconcile that kingdom to the church of Rome, together with the expectation of farther ſervices that he might perform, was not ſufficient to ſcreen him from the reſentment which he had incurred by his zealous endeavours to re-eſtabliſh peace between the houſe of Auſtria and France. He commanded an addition to be made to the anathemas annually denounced againſt the enemies of the church on Maundy-Thurſday, whereby he inflicted the cenſure of excommunication on the authors of the late invaſion of the eccleſiaſtical territories, whatever their rank or dignity might be; and, in conſequence of this, the uſual prayers for the Emperor were omitted next day in the Pope's chapel[d]. February 12. April 9.

[d] Pal. lib. xiii. 180. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 678.

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His military preparations inadequate.

But while the Pope indulged himself in these wild and childish fallies of rage, he either neglected, or it exceeded his power, to take such measures as would have rendered his resentment really formidable, and fatal to his enemies. For, when the duke of Guise entered Rome, where he was received with a triumphal pomp, which would have been more suitable if he had been returning from having terminated the war with glory, than when he was going to begin it with a doubtful chance of success, he found none of the preparations for war in such forwardness as Caraffa had promised, or he had expected. The Papal troops were far inferior in number to the quota stipulated; no magazines sufficient for their subsistance were formed; nor was money for paying them provided. The Venetians, agreeably to that cautious maxim which the misfortunes of their state had first led them to adopt, and which was now become a fundamental principle in their policy, declared their resolution to preserve an exact neutrality, without taking any part in the quarrels of Princes so far their superiors in power. The other Italian states were either openly united in league with Philip, or secretly wished success to his arms against a Pontiff, whose inconsiderate ambition had rendered Italy once more the seat of war.

Duke of Guise's operations.

The duke of Guise perceived that the whole weight of the war would devolve on him; and became sensible, though too late, how imprudent it is to rely, in the execution of great enterprizes, on the aid of feeble allies. Pushed on, however, by the Pope's impatience for action, as well as by his own desire of performing something of what he had so confidently undertaken,

April 13. he marched towards Naples, and began his operations. But the success of these fell far short of his former reputation, of what the world expected, and of what he himself had promised. He

opened the campaign with the ſiege of Civitella, a town of ſome importance on the Neapolitan frontier. But the obſtinacy with which the Spaniſh governor defended it, baffled all the impetuous efforts of the French valour, and obliged Guiſe, after a ſiege of three weeks, to retire from the town with diſgrace. He endeavoured to wipe off that ſtain, by advancing boldly towards the duke of Alva's camp, and offering him battle. But that prudent commander, ſenſible of all the advantages of ſtanding on the defenſive before an invading enemy, declined an engagement, and kept within his entrenchments; and adhering to his plan with the ſteadineſs of a Caſtilian, eluded with great addreſs all Guiſe's ſtratagems, to draw him into action[e]. Meanwhile, ſickneſs waſted the French army; violent diſſenſions had ariſen between Guiſe and the commander of the Pope's forces; the Spaniards renewed their incurſions into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; the Pope, when he found, inſtead of the conqueſts and triumphs which he had fondly expected, that he could not ſecure his own territories from depredation, murmured, complained, and began to talk of peace. The duke of Guiſe, mortified to the laſt degree with having acted ſuch an inglorious part, not only ſollicited his court either to reinforce his army, or to recal him, but urged Paul to fulfil his engagements; and called on Cardinal Caraffa, ſometimes with reproaches, and ſometimes with threats, to make good theſe magnificent promiſes, from a raſh confidence in which he had adviſed his maſter to renounce the truce of Vaucelles, and to join in league with the Pope[f].

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BUT while the French affairs in Italy were in this wretched ſituation, an unexpected event happened in the Low-Coun- Hoſtilities in the Low-Countries.

[e] Herrera vida de Felipe, 181.

[f] Thuan. lib. xxviii. 614. Palav. lib. xiii. 181. Burn. ii. app. 317.

Book XII. 1557. tries, which called the duke of Guiſe from a ſtation wherein he could acquire no honour, to the moſt dignified and important charge which could be committed to a ſubject. As ſoon as the French had diſcovered their purpoſe of violating the truce of Vaucelles, not only by ſending an army into Italy, but by attempting to ſurprize ſome of the frontier towns in Flanders, Philip, though willing to have avoided a rupture, determined to proſecute the war with ſuch ſpirit, as ſhould make his enemies ſenſible, that his father had not erred, when he judged him to be ſo capable of government, that he had given up the reins into his hands. As he knew that Henry had been at great expence in fitting out the army under the duke of Guiſe, and that his treaſury was hardly able to anſwer the exorbitant and endleſs demands of a diſtant war, he foreſaw that all his operations in the Low-Countries muſt, of conſequence, be feeble, and be conſidered only as ſecondary to thoſe in Italy. For that reaſon, he prudently reſolved to make his principal effort in that place where he expected the French to be weakeſt, and to bend his chief force againſt that quarter where they would feel a blow moſt ſenſibly. With this view, he aſſembled in the Low-Countries an army of about fifty thouſand men, the Flemmings ſerving him on this occaſion with that active zeal, which ſubjects are wont to exert in obeying the commands of a new ſovereign. But Philip, cautious and provident, even at that early period of life, did not reſt all his hopes of ſucceſs on that formidable force alone.

Philip endeavours to engage England in the war.

He had been labouring for ſome time to engage the Engliſh to eſpouſe his quarrel; and though it was manifeſtly the intereſt of that kingdom to maintain a ſtrict neutrality, and the people themſelves were ſenſible of the advantages which they derived from it; though he knew how odious his name was to the Engliſh, and how

how averſe they would be to co-operate with him in any meaſure, he nevertheleſs did not deſpair of accompliſhing his point. He relied on the affection wherewith the Queen doated on him, which was ſo violent, that even his coldneſs and neglect had not extinguiſhed it; he knew her implicit reverence for his opinion, and her fond deſire of gratifying him in every particular. That he might work on theſe with greater facility, and more certain ſucceſs, he ſet out for England. The Queen who, during her huſband's abſence, had languiſhed in perpetual dejection, reſumed freſh ſpirits on his arrival; and without paying the leaſt attention either to the intereſt or to the inclinations of her people, entered warmly into all his ſchemes. In vain did her privy-council remonſtrate againſt the imprudence as well as danger of involving the nation in an unneceſſary war; in vain did they put her in mind of the ſolemn treaties of peace ſubſiſting between England and France, which the conduct of that nation had afforded her no pretext to violate. Mary, ſoothed by Philip's careſſes, or intimidated by the threats which his aſcendant over her emboldened him at ſome times to throw out, was deaf to every thing that could be urged in oppoſition to his ſentiments, and inſiſted with the greateſt vehemence on an immediate declaration of war againſt France. The council, though all Philip's addreſs and Mary's authority were employed to gain or overawe them, ſtruggled long, and yielded at laſt, not from conviction, but merely from deference to the will of their ſovereign. War was declared againſt France, the only one perhaps againſt that kingdom into which the Engliſh ever entered with reluctance. As Mary knew the averſion of the nation to this meaſure, ſhe durſt not call a parliament in order to raiſe money for carrying on the war. She ſupplied this want, however, by a ſtrain

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June 20.

Book XII. 1557. ſtrain of prerogative; and levied large ſums on her ſubjects by her own authority. This enabled her to aſſemble a ſufficient body of troops, and to ſend eight thouſand men under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke to join Philip's army[s].

Operations of Philip's army in the Low-Countries.

PHILIP, who was not ambitious of military glory, gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and fixed his own reſidence at Cambray, that he might be at hand to receive the earlieſt intelligence of his motions, and to aid him with his counſels. The duke opened the campaign with a maſterly ſtroke of addreſs, which juſtified Philip's choice, and diſcovered ſuch a ſuperiority of genius over the French generals, as almoſt enſured ſucceſs in his ſubſequent operations. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops at a place conſiderably diſtant from the country which he deſtined to be the ſcene of action; and having kept the enemy in ſuſpence for a good time with regard to his intentions, he at laſt deceived them ſo effectually by the variety of his marches and counter-marches, that they concluded that he meant to bend all his force againſt the province of Champagne, and would attempt to penetrate into the kingdom on that ſide. In conſequence of this opinion, they drew all their ſtrength towards that quarter, and reinforcing the garriſons there, left the towns on other parts of the frontier deſtitute of troops ſufficient to defend them.

Inveſts St. Quintin.

EMANUEL, as ſoon as he perceived that this feint had its full effect, turned ſuddenly to the right, advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and ſending his cavalry, in which he was extremely ſtrong, before him, inveſted St. Quintin. This was a

[s] Carte iii. 337.

town

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town deemed in that age of conſiderable ſtrength, and of great importance, as there were few fortified cities between it and Paris. The fortifications, however, had been much neglected; the garriſon, weakened by draughts ſent towards Champagne, did not amount to a fifth part of the number requiſite for its defence; and the governor, though a brave officer, was neither of rank, nor authority, equal to the command in a place of ſo much conſequence, beſieged by ſuch a formidable army. A few days muſt have put the Duke of Savoy in poſſeſſion of the town, if the admiral de Coligny, who thought it concerned his honour to attempt ſaving a place of ſuch importance to his country, and which lay within his juriſdiction as governor of Picardy, had not taken the gallant reſolution of throwing himſelf into it, with ſuch a body of men as he could collect of a ſudden. This reſolution he executed with great intrepidity, and conſidering the nature of the enterprize, with no contemptible ſucceſs; for though one half of his ſmall body was cut off, he, with the other, broke through the enemy, and entered the town. The unexpected arrival of an officer of ſuch high rank and reputation, and who had expoſed himſelf to ſuch danger in order to join them, inſpired the deſponding garriſon with courage. Every thing that the admiral's great ſkill and experience in the art of war could ſuggeſt, for annoying the enemy, or defending the town, was attempted; and the citizens as well as the garriſon ſeconding his zeal with equal ardour, ſeemed to be determined that they would hold out to the laſt, and ſacrifice themſelves in order to ſave their country [h].

[h] Thuan. lib. xix. 647.

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1557. The French endeavour to relieve the town.

THE Duke of Savoy, whom the Engliſh under the Earl of Pembroke, joined about this time, puſhed on the ſiege with the greateſt vigour. An army ſo numerous, and ſo well ſupplied with every thing requiſite, carried on its approaches with great advantage againſt a garriſon which was ſtill ſo feeble that it durſt ſeldom venture to diſturb or retard the enemy's operations by ſallies. The admiral, ſenſible of the approaching danger and unable to avert it, acquainted his uncle the conſtable Montmorency, who had the command of the French army, with his ſituation, and pointed out to him a method by which he might throw relief into the town. The conſtable, ſollicitous to ſave a town, the loſs of which would open a paſſage for the enemy into the heart of France; and eager to extricate his nephew out of that perilous ſituation, in which zeal for the publick had engaged him; reſolved, though aware of the danger, to attempt what he deſired. With this view he marched from La Fere towards St. Quintin at the head of his army, which was not by one half ſo numerous as that of the enemy, and having given the command of a body of choſen men to Coligny's brother Dandelot who was colonel general of the French infantry, he ordered him to force his way into the town by that avenue which the admiral had repreſented as moſt practicable, while he himſelf with the main army would give the alarm to the enemy's camp on the oppoſite ſide, and endeavour to draw all their attention towards that quarter. Dandelot executed his orders with greater intrepidity than conduct. His ſoldiers ruſhed on with ſuch headlong impetuoſity, that though it broke the firſt body of the enemy which ſtood in their way, it threw themſelves into the utmoſt confuſion; and being attacked by freſh troops which cloſed in upon them on every ſide, the

August 10.

greater part of them were cut in pieces, Dandelot, with about five hundred of the moſt adventrous, and moſt fortunate, making good his entrance into the town.

The battle of St. Quintin.

MEANWHILE the Conſtable, in executing his part of the plan, advanced ſo near the camp of the beſiegers, as rendered it impoſſible to retreat with ſafety in the face of an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number. The Duke of Savoy inſtantly perceived Montmorency's error, and prepared, with the preſence of mind and abilities of a great general, to avail himſelf of it. He drew up his army in order of battle, with the greateſt expedition, and watching the moment when the French began to file off towards La Fere, he detached all his cavalry under the command of the count of Egmont to fall on their rear, while he, at the head of his infantry, advanced to ſupport him. The French retired at firſt in perfect order, and with a good countenance; but when they ſaw Egmont draw near with his formidable body of cavalry, the ſhock of which they were conſcious that they could not withſtand, the proſpect of imminent danger, added to diſtruſt of their general, whoſe imprudence every ſoldier now perceived, ſtruck them with general conſternation. They began inſenſibly to quicken their pace, and thoſe in the rear began to preſs ſo violently on ſuch as were before them, that in a ſhort time their march reſembled a flight rather than a retreat. Egmont, obſerving their confuſion, charged them with the greateſt fury, and in a moment all their Genſdarmerie, the pride and ſtrength of the French armies in that age, gave way and fled with precipitation. The infantry, however, whom the conſtable, by his preſence and authority, kept to their colours, ſtill continued their retreat, until the enemy brought ſome pieces of cannon

Total defeat of the French.

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to bear upon their center, which threw them into such disorder, that the cavalry renewing their attack, broke in, and the rout became universal. About four thousand of the French fell in the field, and among those the Duke of Anguyen a Prince of the blood, together with six hundred gentlemen. The Constable, as soon as he perceived the fortune of the day to be irretrievable, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, with a resolution not to survive the calamity, which his ill-conduct had brought upon his country; but having received a dangerous wound, and being wasted with the loss of blood, he was surrounded by some Flemish officers, to whom he was known, who protected him from the violence of the soldiers, and obliged him to surrender. Besides the constable, the Dukes of Montpensier and Longueville, the Marechal St. Andrè, many officers of distinction, three hundred gentlemen, and near four thousand private soldiers were taken prisoners. All the colours belonging to the infantry, all the ammunition, and all the cannon, two pieces excepted, fell into the enemy's hands. The victorious army did not lose above fourscore men [1].

The first effects of it.

THIS battle, no less fatal to France than the ancient victories of Crecy and Agincourt, gained by the English on the same frontier, bore a more near resemblance to these, in the suddenness of the rout; in the rashness of the commander in chief; in the number of persons of note slain or taken; and in the small loss sustained by the enemy. It filled France with equal consternation. Many inhabitants of Paris with the same precipitancy and trepidation, as if the enemy

[1] Thuan. 650. Haræi Annal. Brabant. ii. 692. Herrera, 291.

had

had been already at their gates, quitted the city, and retired into the interior provinces. The King, by his preſence and exhortations, endeavoured to conſole and to animate ſuch as remained, and applying himſelf with the greateſt diligence to repair the ruinous fortifications of the city, prepared to defend it againſt the attack which he inſtantly expected. But happily for France, Philip's caution, together with the intrepid firmneſs of the Admiral de Coligny not only ſaved the capital from the danger to which it was expoſed, but gained the nation a ſhort interval, during which the people recovered from the terror and dejection occaſioned by a blow no leſs ſevere than unexpected, and Henry had leiſure to take meaſures for the publick ſecurity with the ſpirit which became the ſovereign of a powerful and martial people. Book XII. 1557.

Philip repairs to his army.

PHILIP, immediately after the battle, viſited the camp at St. Quintin, where he was received with all the exultation of military triumph; and ſuch were his tranſports of joy on account of an event, which threw ſo much luſtre on the beginning of his reign, that they ſoftened his ſevere and haughty temper, into an unuſual flow of courteſy. When the Duke of Savoy approached, and was kneeling to kiſs his hands, he caught him in his arms, and embracing him with warmth, "It becomes me, ſays he, rather to kiſs your hands, which have gained me ſuch a glorious and almoſt bloodleſs victory."

His deliberations concerning the proſecution of the war.

As ſoon as the rejoicings and congratulations on Philip's arrival were over, a council of war was held in order to determine how they might improve their victory to the beſt advantage. The Duke of Savoy, ſeconded by ſeveral of the ableſt

Book XII. 1557. officers formed under Charles V. inſiſted that they ſhould immediately relinquiſh the ſiege of St. Quintin, the reduction of which was now an object below their attention, and advance directly towards Paris; that as there were neither troops to oppoſe, nor any town of ſtrength to retard their march, they might reach that capital while under the full impreſſion of the aſtoniſhment and terror occaſioned by the rout of the army, and take poſſeſſion of it without reſiſtance. But Philip, leſs adventrous or more prudent than his generals, preferred a moderate but certain advantage, to an enterprize of greater ſplendour, but of more doubtful ſucceſs. He repreſented to the council the infinite reſources of a kingdom ſo powerful as France; the great number as well as martial ſpirit of its nobles; their attachment to their ſovereign; the vaſt advantages with which they could carry on war in their own territories; and the unavoidable deſtruction, which muſt be the conſequence of their penetrating too raſhly into the enemy's country, before they had ſecured ſuch a communication with their own, as might render a retreat ſafe, if upon any diſaſtrous event that ſhould become neceſſary. On all theſe accounts, he adviſed the continuance of the ſiege, and his generals acquieſced the more readily in his opinion, as they made no doubt of being maſters of the town in a few days, a loſs of time of ſo little conſequence in the execution of their plan, that they might eaſily repair it by their ſubſequent activity [1].

St. Quintin defended by Admiral Coligny.

THE weakneſs of the fortifications, and the ſmall number of the garriſon, which could no longer hope either for reinforce-

[1] Belcar. Commentar. di Reb. Gallic. 901.

ment,

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ment, or relief, ſeemed to authorize this calculation of Philip's generals. But, in making it, they did not attend ſufficiently to the character of Admiral de Coligny, who commanded in the town. A courage undiſmayed and undiſconcerted amidſt the greateſt dangers, an invention fruitful in reſources, a genius which rouzed and ſeemed to acquire new force upon every diſaſter, a talent of governing the minds of men, together with a capacity of maintaining his aſcendant over them even under circumſtances the moſt adverſe and diſtreſsful, were qualities which Coligny poſſeſſed in a degree ſuperior to any general of that age. Theſe qualities were peculiarly adapted to the ſtation in which he was now placed; and as he knew the infinite importance to his country of every hour which he could gain at this juncture, he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in contriving how to protract the ſiege, and to detain the enemy from attempting any enterprize more dangerous to France. Such were the perſeverance and ſkill with which he conducted the defence, and ſuch the fortitude and patience with which he animated the garriſon, that though the Spaniards, the Flemings, and the Engliſh, carried on the attack with all the ardour which national emulation inſpires, he held out the town ſeventeen days. He was taken priſoner, at laſt, on the breach, overpowered by the ſuperior number of the enemy.

which is taken by aſſault.

Auguſt 27.

Henry's meaſures for the defence of his kingdom.

Henry availed himſelf, with the utmoſt activity, of the interval which the Admiral's well-timed obſtinacy had afforded him. He appointed officers to collect the ſcattered remains of the conſtable's army; he iſſued orders for levying ſoldiers in every part of the kingdom; he commanded the ban and arriere ban of the frontier provinces inſtantly to take the field, and to join

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join the Duke of Nevers at Laon in Picardy; he recalled the greater part of the veteran troops which ſerved under the Marechal Briſſac in Piedmont; he ſent courier after courier to the Duke of Guiſe, requiring him, together with all his army, to return inſtantly for the defence of their country; he diſpatched one envoy to the Grand Signior, to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of his fleet, and the loan of a ſum of money; he ſent another into Scotland, to incite the Scots to invade the north of England, that by drawing Mary's attention to that quarter, he might prevent her from reinforcing her troops which ſerved under Philip. Theſe efforts of the King were warmly ſeconded by the zeal of his ſubjects. The city of Paris granted him a free gift of three hundred thouſand livres. The other great towns imitated the liberality of the capital, and contributed in proportion. Several noblemen of diſtinction engaged to garriſon and to defend at their own expence the towns which lay moſt expoſed to be attacked by the enemy. Nor was this general concern for the publick confined to communities alone, or to thoſe in the higher ſphere of life, but diffuſing itſelf among perſons of every rank, each individual ſeemed diſpoſed to act with as much vigour as if the honour of the King, and the ſafety of the ſtate had depended on his perſonal efforts [m].

The victory of St. Quintin productive of few beneficial conſequences.

PHILIP, who was no ſtranger either to the prudent meaſures taken by the French monarch for the ſecurity of his dominions, or to the ſpirit with which his ſubjects prepared to defend themſelves, perceived, when it was too late, that he had loſt an opportunity which could never be recalled, and that it was now vain to think of penetrating into the heart of France. He

[m] Mem. de Ribier. ii. 701. 703.

abandoned,

abandoned, therefore, without much reluctance, a ſcheme which was too bold and hazardous to be perfectly agreeable to his cautious temper; and employed his army, during the remainder of the campaign, in the ſieges of Ham and Catelet. Of theſe, he ſoon became maſter; and the reduction of theſe two petty towns, together with the acquiſition of St. Quintin, were all the advantages which he derived from one of the moſt deciſive victories gained in that century. Philip himſelf, however, continued in high exultation, on account of his ſucceſs; and as all his paſſions were tinged with ſuperſtition, he, in memory of the battle of St. Quintin, which had been fought on the day conſecrated to St. Laurence, vowed to build a church, a monaſtry, and a palace ſacred to that ſaint and martyr. Before the expiration of the year, he laid the foundation of an edifice, in which all theſe were united, at the Eſcurial in the neighbourhood of Madrid; and the ſame principle, which dictated the vow, directed the building. For the plan of the work was ſo formed as to reſemble a gridiron, which, according to the legendary tale, had been the inſtrument of St. Laurence's martyrdom. Notwithſtanding the vaſt and expenſive ſchemes, in which his reſtleſs ambition involved him, Philip continued the building with ſuch perſeverance for twenty-two years, and reſerved ſuch vaſt ſums for this monument of his piety and vanity, that the monarchs of Spain are indebted to him for a royal reſidence, which though not the moſt elegant, is certainly the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent of any in Europe *.

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THE firſt account of that fatal blow which the French had received at St. Quintin was carried to Rome by the courier, whom Henry had ſent to recall the Duke of Guiſe. As Paul,

The French army recalled out of Italy.

* Colmenar Annales d' Eſpagne, tom. ii. p. 136.

Book XII. 1557. even with the aſſiſtance of his French auxiliaries, had ſcarce been able to check the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms, he foreſaw that as ſoon as he was deprived of their protection, his territories muſt be over-run in a moment. He remonſtrated therefore with the greateſt violence againſt the departure of the French army, reproaching the Duke of Guiſe for his ill conduct, which had brought him into ſuch an unhappy ſituation; and complaining of the King for deſerting him ſo ungenerouſly under ſuch circumſtances. Guiſe's orders, however, were peremptory. Paul, inflexible as he was, found it neceſſary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians, and of Coſmo di Medici in order to obtain peace. Philip, who had been forced unwillingly to a rupture with the Pope, and who, even while ſucceſs crowned his arms, doubted ſo much the juſtice of his own cauſe, that he had made frequent overtures of pacification, liſtened eagerly to the firſt propoſals of this nature from Paul, and diſcovered ſuch moderation in his demands, as could ſcarce have been expected from a Prince elated with victory.

A treaty of peace between the Pope and Philip.

THE Duke of Alva on the part of Philip, and the Cardinal Caraffa in the name of his uncle, met at Cavi, and both being equally diſpoſed to peace, they, after a ſhort conference, terminated the war by a treaty on the following terms: That Paul ſhould renounce his league with France, and maintain for the future ſuch a neutrality as became the common father of Chriſtendom; That Philip ſhould inſtantly reſtore all the towns of the eccleſiaſtical territory of which he had taken poſſeſſion; That the claims of the Caraffa's to the dutchy of Paliano, and other demeſnes of the Colonna's ſhould be referred to the deciſion

decision of the republick of Venice; That the Duke of Alva should repair in person to Rome, and after asking pardon of Paul in his own name, and in that of his master, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, should receive the Pope's absolution from that crime. Thus Paul, through Philip's scrupulous timidity, finished an unprosperous war without any detriment to the Papal See. The conqueror appeared humble, and acknowledged his error; while he who had been vanquished retained his usual haughtiness, and was treated with every mark of superiority [n]. The Duke of Alva, in terms of the treaty, repaired to Rome, and in the posture of a supplicant, kissed the feet, and implored the forgiveness of that very person, whom his arms had reduced to the last extremity. Such was the superstitious veneration of the Spaniards for the papal character, that Alva, though perhaps the proudest man of the age, and accustomed from his infancy to a familiar intercourse with Princes, acknowledged that when he approached the Pope, he was so much overawed, that his voice failed, and his presence of mind forsook him [o]. Book XII. 1557.

But though this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was brought to an end without occasioning any alteration in those States, which were its immediate object, it produced effects of considerable consequence in other parts of Italy. As Philip was extremely solicitous to terminate his quarrel with Paul as speedily as possible, he was willing to make any sacrifice in order to gain those Princes, who, by joining their

Philip restores Placentia to Octavio Farnese.

[n] Pallav. lib. xiii. 183. F. Paul. 380. Herrera, vol. i. 310.
[o] Pallav. lib. xiii. 185. Summonte Istoria di Napoli, iv. 286.

Book XII. 1557. troops to the Papal and French army, might have prolonged the war. With this view, he entered into a negociation with Octavio Farneſe, Duke of Parma, and in order to ſeduce him from his alliance with France, he reſtored to him the city of Placentia with the territory depending on it, which Charles V. having ſeized in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, had kept from that time in his poſſeſſion, and had tranſmitted together with his other dominions to Philip.

Coſmo di Medici's meaſures for obtaining Siena.

THIS ſtep made ſuch a diſcovery of Philip's character and views to Coſmo di Medici, the moſt ſagacious and provident of all the Italian Princes, that he conceived hopes of accompliſhing his favourite ſcheme of adding Siena and its territories to his dominions in Tuſcany. As his ſucceſs in this attempt depended entirely on the delicacy of addreſs with which it was conducted, he employed all the refinements of policy in the negociation which he ſet on foot for this purpoſe. He began with ſoliciting Philip, whoſe treaſury he knew to be entirely drained by the expence of the war, to repay the great ſums which he had advanced to the Emperor during the ſiege of Siena. When Philip endeavoured to elude a demand which he was unable to ſatisfy, he affected to be extremely diſquieted, and making no ſecret of his diſguſt, inſtructed his ambaſſador at Rome to open a negociation with the Pope, which ſeemed to be the effect of it. The ambaſſador executed his commiſſion with ſuch dexterity, that Paul, imagining Coſmo to be entirely alienated from the Spaniſh intereſt, propoſed to him an alliance with France, which ſhould be cemented by the marriage of his eldeſt ſon to one of Henry's daughters. Coſmo received the overture with ſuch apparent ſatisfaction, and with ſo many profeſſions of gratitude

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titude for the high honour of which he had the proſpect, that not only the Pope's miniſters, but the French envoy at Rome talked confidently, and with little reſerve, of the acceſſion of that important ally, as a matter certain and decided. The account of this was quickly carried to Philip; and Coſmo, who foreſaw how much it would alarm him, had diſpatched his nephew Ludovico de Toledo into the Netherlands, that he might be at hand to obſerve and take advantage of his conſternation, before the firſt impreſſion which it made ſhould in any degree abate. Coſmo was extremely fortunate in the choice of the inſtrument whom he employed. Toledo waited, with patience, until he diſcovered with certainty, that Philip had received ſuch intelligence of his uncle's negociations at Rome, as muſt have filled his ſuſpicious mind with fear and jealouſy; and then craving an audience, he required payment of the money which had been borrowed by the Emperor, in the moſt earneſt and peremptory terms. In urging that point, he artfully threw out ſeveral dark hints and ambiguous declarations, concerning the extremities, to which Coſmo might be driven by a refuſal of this juſt demand, as well as by other grievances of which he had good reaſon to complain.

Their ſucceſs.

PHILIP, aſtoniſhed at an addreſs in ſuch a ſtrain, from a Prince ſo far his inferior as the Duke of Tuſcany, and comparing what he now heard, with the information which he had received from Italy, immediately concluded that Coſmo had ventured to aſſume this bold and unuſual tone on the proſpect of his union with France. In order to prevent the Pope and Henry from acquiring an ally, who by his abilities and the ſituation of his dominions would have added both reputation and ſtrength to their confederacy, he offered to grant Coſmo the inveſtiture of Siena, if

Book XII. 1557. he would conſent to accept of this, as an equivalent for the ſums due to him, and engage to furniſh a body of troops towards the defence of Philip's territories in Italy, againſt any power who ſhould attack them. As ſoon as Coſmo had brought Philip to this, which was the object of all his artifices and intrigues, he did not protract the negociation by any unneceſſary delay, or any exceſs of refinement, but cloſed eagerly with the propoſal, and Philip, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of his ableſt counſellors, ſigned a treaty with him to that effect [p].

As no Prince was ever more tenacious of his rights than Philip, or leſs willing to relinquiſh any territory which he poſſeſſed, by what tenure ſoever he held it, theſe unuſual conceſſions to the Dukes of Parma and Tuſcany, by which he wantonly gave up countries, in acquiring or defending which, his father had employed many years, and waſted much blood and treaſure, cannot be accounted for from any motive, but his ſuperſtitious deſire of extricating himſelf out of the war which he had been forced to wage againſt the Pope. By theſe treaties, however, the balance of power among the Italian States was poized with greater equality, and rendered leſs variable than it had been ſince it received the firſt violent ſhock from the invaſion of Charles VIII. of France. From this period Italy ceaſed to be the great theatre, on which the monarchs of Spain, France, and Germany, contended for power or for fame. Their diſſentions and hoſtilities were nevertheleſs as frequent and as violent as ever; but being excited by new objects, they ſtained other regions of Europe with blood, and rendered them, in their turn, miſerable by the devaſtations of war.

[p] Thuan. lib. xviii. 624. Herrera, i. 263. 275. Palav. lib. xiii. 180.

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THE Duke of Guiſe left Rome on the ſame day that his adverſary the Duke of Alva made his ignominious ſubmiſſions to the Pope. He was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. His late ill ſucceſs in Italy ſeemed to be forgotten, while his former ſervices, particularly his defence of Metz, were recounted with exaggerated praiſe; and he was welcomed in every city through which he paſſed, as the reſtorer of publick ſecurity, who after having ſet bounds by his conduct and valour to the victorious arms of Charles V. returned now, at the call of his country, to check the formidable progreſs of Philip's power. The reception which he met with from Henry was no leſs cordial and honourable. New titles were invented, and new dignities created in order to diſtinguiſh him. He was appointed lieutenant-general in chief both within and without the kingdom, with a juriſdiction almoſt unlimited, and hardly inferior to that which was poſſeſſed by the King himſelf. Thus, through the ſingular felicity which attended the Princes of Lorrain, the miſcarriage of their own ſchemes contributed to aggrandize them. The calamities of his country, and the ill conduct of his rival the Conſtable, exalted the Duke of Guiſe to a height of dignity and power, which he could not have expected to attain by the moſt fortunate and moſt compleat ſucceſs of his own ambitious projects.

Sept. 29. The Duke of Guiſe's reception in France.

THE Duke of Guiſe, eager to perform ſomething ſuitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, and that he might juſtify the extraordinary confidence which the King had repoſed in him, ordered all the troops, which could be got together, to aſſemble at Campiegne. Though the winter was well advanced, and had ſet in with extreme rigour, he placed himſelf

Takes the command of the army.

Book XII. 1557. at their head, and took the field. By Henry's activity and the zeal of his ſubjects, ſo many ſoldiers had been raiſed in the kingdom, and ſuch conſiderable reinforcements had been drawn from Germany and Swiſſerland, as formed an army reſpectable even in the eyes of a victorious enemy. Philip, alarmed at ſeeing it put in motion at ſuch an uncommon ſeaſon, began to tremble for his new conqueſts, particularly St. Quintin, the fortifications of which were hitherto but imperfectly repaired.

He inveſts Calais. 1558. January 1ſt.

BUT the Duke of Guiſe meditated a more important enterprize; and after amuſing the enemy with threatening ſucceſſively different towns on the frontiers of Flanders, he turned ſuddenly to the left and inveſted Calais with his whole army. Calais had been taken by the Engliſh under Edward III. and was the fruit of that monarch's glorious victory at Creſſy. Being the only place that they retained of their ancient and extenſive territories in France, and which opened to them, at all times, an eaſy and ſecure paſſage into the heart of that kingdom, their keeping poſſeſſion of it ſoothed the pride of the one nation as much as it mortified the vanity of the other. Its ſituation was naturally ſo ſtrong, and its fortifications deemed ſo impregnable, that no monarch of France, how adventrous ſoever, had been bold enough to attack it. Even when the domeſtick ſtrength of England was broken and exhauſted by the bloody wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and its attention entirely diverted from foreign objects, Calais had remained undiſturbed and unthreatened. Mary and her council, compoſed chiefly of Eccleſiaſticks, unacquainted with military affairs, and whoſe whole attention was turned towards extirpating hereſy out of the kingdom, had not only neglected to take any precautions for

the ſafety of this important place, but ſeemed to think that the reputation of its ſtrength alone was ſufficient for its ſecurity. Full of this opinion, they ventured, even after the declaration of war, to continue a practice which the low ſtate of the Queen's finances had introduced in times of peace. As the country adjacent to Calais was overflowed during the winter, and the marſhes around it became impaſſable, except by one avenue, which the forts of St. Agatha and Newnhambridge commanded, it had been the cuſtom of the Engliſh to diſmiſs the greater part of the garriſon towards the end of autumn, and to replace it in the ſpring. In vain did Lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, remonſtrate againſt this ill-timed parſimony, and repreſent the poſſibility of his being attacked ſuddenly, while he had not troops ſufficient to man the works. The privy council treated theſe remonſtrances with ſcorn, as if they had flowed from the timidity or the rapaciouſneſs of the governor; and ſome of them, with that confidenee which is the companion of ignorance, boaſted that they would defend Calais with their white rods againſt any enemy who ſhould approach it during winter [q]. In vain did Philip, who had paſſed through Calais as he returned from England to the Netherlands, warn the Queen of the danger to which it was expoſed; and acquainting her with what was neceſſary for its ſecurity, offer to reinforce the garriſon during winter with a detachment of his own troops. Mary's counſellors, though obſequious to her in all points wherein religion was concerned, diſtruſted, as much as the reſt of their countrymen, every propoſition that came from her huſband; and ſuſpecting this to be an artifice of Philip's in order to gain

Its defenceleſs ſtate.

[q] Carte, iii. 345.

the

Book XII. 1558. the command of the town, they neglected his intelligence, declined his offer, and left Calais with leſs than a fourth of the men requiſite for its defence.

Guiſe puſhes the ſiege with vigour.

It was his knowledge of this which encouraged the Duke of Guiſe to venture on an enterprize, that ſurprized his own countrymen, no leſs than his enemies. As he knew that its ſucceſs depended on conducting his operations with ſuch rapidity as would afford the Engliſh no time for throwing relief into the town by ſea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interruption by land, he puſhed the attack with a degree of vigour little known in carrying on ſieges, during that age. He drove the Engliſh from Fort St. Agatha at the firſt aſſault; obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnhambridge, after defending it three days; took the caſtle which commanded the harbour by ſtorm; and on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais compelled the governor, whoſe feeble garriſon, which did not exceed five hundred men, was worn out with the fatigue of ſuſtaining ſo many attacks, and defending ſuch extenſive works, to ſign a capitulation.

Takes the town,

and likewiſe Guiſnes and Hames.

The Duke of Guiſe, without allowing the Engliſh time to recover from the conſternation occaſioned by this blow, immediately inveſted Guiſnes, the garriſon of which, though more numerous, defended itſelf with leſs vigour, and after ſtanding one briſk aſſault, ſurrendered the town. The caſtle of Hames was abandoned by the troops poſted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

Thus

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The ſplendour and effect of theſe conqueſts.

THUS, in a few days; during the depth of winter; and at a time when the fatal battle of St. Quintin had ſo depreſſed the ſanguine ſpirit of the French, that their utmoſt aim was to protect their own country, without dreaming of making conqueſts on the enemy; the enterprizing valour of one man drove the Engliſh out of Calais, after they had held it two hundred and ten years, and deprived them of every foot of land in a kingdom, where their dominions had been once ſo extenſive. This exploit, at the ſame time that it gave an high idea of the power and reſources of France to all Europe, ſet the Duke of Guiſe, in the opinion of his countrymen, far above all the generals of the age. They celebrated his conqueſts with immoderate tranſports of joy; while the Engliſh gave vent to all the paſſions, which animate a high-ſpirited people, when any great national calamity is manifeſtly owing to the ill conduct of their rulers. Mary and her miniſters, formerly odious, were now contemptible in their eyes. All the terrors of her ſevere and arbitrary adminiſtration could not reſtrain them from uttering execrations and threats againſt thoſe, who having wantonly involved the nation in a quarrel wherein it was nowiſe intereſted, had by their negligence or incapacity brought irreparable diſgrace on their country, and loſt the moſt valuable poſſeſſion belonging to the Engliſh crown.

THE French King imitated the conduct of its former conqueror, Edward III. with regard to Calais. He commanded all the Engliſh inhabitants to quit the town, and giving their houſes to his own ſubjects, whom he allured to ſettle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garriſon, under an experienced governor, for their defence. After this, his victorious

BOOK XII. victorious army went into quarters of refreſhment, and the uſual inaction of winter returned.

1558.

Feb. 24. Charles's reſignation of the Imperial crown.

MEANWHILE Ferdinand aſſembled the college of Electors at Frankfort, in order to lay before them the deed whereby Charles V. had reſigned the Imperial crown, and transferred it to him. This he had hitherto delayed, on account of ſome difficulties which had occurred concerning the formalities requiſite in ſupplying a vacancy occaſioned by an event, to which there was no parallel in the annals of the Empire. Theſe being at length adjuſted, the Prince of Orange executed the commiſſion with which he had been entruſted by Charles; the Electors accepted of his reſignation; declared Ferdinand his lawful ſucceſſor; and put him in poſſeſſion of all the enſigns of the Imperial dignity.

The Pope refuſes to acknowledge Ferdinand as Emperor.

BUT when the new Emperor ſent Guſman his chancellor, to acquaint the Pope with this tranſaction, to teſtify his reverence towards the Holy See, and to ſignify that, according to form, he would ſoon diſpatch an ambaſſador extraordinary to treat with his holineſs concerning his coronation; Paul, whom neither experience nor diſappointments could teach to bring down his lofty ideas of the papal prerogative to ſuch a moderate ſtandard as ſuited the genius of the times, refuſed to admit the envoy into his preſence, and declared all the proceedings at Frankfort irregular and invalid. He contended that the Pope, as the vicegerent of Chriſt, was entruſted with the keys both of celeſtial and terreſtrial government; that from him the Imperial juriſdiction was derived; that though his predeceſſors had authorized the Electors to chuſe an Emperor whom the Holy See confirmed,

confirmed, this privilege was confined to thoſe caſes when a vacancy was occaſioned by death; that the inſtrument of Charles's reſignation had been preſented in an improper court, as it belonged to the Pope alone to reject or to accept of it, and to nominate a perſon to ſupply his place; that, ſetting aſide all theſe objections, Ferdinand's election laboured under two defects which alone were ſufficient to render it void, for the Proteſtant Electors had been admitted to vote, tho', by their apoſtacy from the catholick faith, they had forfeited that and every other privilege of the electoral office; that Ferdinand, by ratifying the conceſſions of ſeveral Diets in favour of hereticks, had rendered himſelf unworthy of the Imperial dignity, which was inſtituted for the protection, not for the deſtruction of the church. But after thundering out theſe extravagant maxims, he added with an appearance of condeſcenſion, that if Ferdinand would renounce all title to the Imperial crown, founded on the election at Frankfort, make profeſſions of repentance for his paſt conduct, and ſupplicate him, with due humility, to confirm Charles's reſignation, as well as his aſſumption to the Empire, he might expect every mark of favour from his paternal clemency and goodneſs. Guſman, though he had laid his account with conſiderable difficulties in his negociation with the Pope, little expected that he would have revived theſe antiquated and wild pretenſions, which aſtoniſhed him ſo much that he ſcarce knew in what tone he ought to reply. He prudently declined entering into any controverſy concerning the nature or extent of the papal juriſdiction, and confining himſelf to the political conſiderations, which ſhould determine the Pope to recognize an Emperor already in poſſeſſion, he endeavoured to place theſe in ſuch a light, as he imagined could ſcarce fail to ſtrike Paul, if he were

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not altogether blind to his own intereſt. Philip ſeconded Guſman's arguments with great earneſtneſs, by an ambaſſador whom he ſent to Rome of purpoſe, and beſought the Pope to deſiſt from claims ſo unſeaſonable, as might not only irritate and alarm Ferdinand and the Princes of the Empire, but furniſh the enemies of the Holy See with a new reaſon for repreſenting its juriſdiction as incompatible with the rights of Princes, and ſubverſive of all civil authority. But Paul, who deemed it a crime to attend to any conſideration ſuggeſted by human prudence or policy, when he thought himſelf called to aſſert the prerogatives of the Papal See, remained inflexible; and during his pontificate, Ferdinand was not acknowledged as Emperor by the court of Rome [r].

Henry endeavours to excite the Scots againſt England.

WHILE Henry was preparing for the approaching campaign, he received accounts of the iſſue of his negociations in Scotland. Long experience having at laſt taught the Scots the imprudence of involving their country in every quarrel between France and England, neither the ſolicitations of his ambaſſador, nor the addreſs and authority of the Queen-regent, could prevail on them to take arms againſt a kingdom, with which they were at peace. On this occaſion the ardor of a martial nobility and of a turbulent people was reſtrained by regard for the publick intereſt and tranquillity, which in former deliberations of this kind, had been ſeldom attended to by a nation always prone to ruſh into every new war. But though the Scots adhered with ſteadineſs to their pacific ſyſtem, they were extremely ready to gratify

[r] Godleveus de Abdicat. Car. V. ap. Gold. polit. Imp. 392. Palav. lib. xiii. 189. Ribier. ii. 746. 759.

the

the French King in another particular, which he had given in charge to his ambaſſador.

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THE young Queen of Scots had been affianced to the Dauphin in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-eight, and having been educated ſince that time in the court of France, ſhe had grown up to be the moſt amiable, and one of the moſt accompliſhed Princeſſes of that age. Henry demanded the conſent of her ſubjects to the celebration of the marriage, and a parliament which was held for that purpoſe, appointed eight commiſſioners to repreſent the whole body of the nation at that ſolemnity, with power to ſign ſuch deeds as might be requiſite before it was concluded. In ſettling the articles of the marriage, the Scots took all the precautions, that prudence could dictate, in order to preſerve the liberty and independence of their country; while the French uſed every art to ſecure to the Dauphin the conduct of affairs during the Queen's life, and the ſucceſſion of the crown on the event of her demiſe. The marriage was celebrated with pomp ſuitable to the dignity of the parties, and the magnificence of a court at that time the moſt ſplendid in Europe [a]. Thus Henry, in the courſe of a few months, had the glory of recovering an important poſſeſſion which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and of adding to it the acquiſition of a new kingdom. By this event, too, the Duke of Guiſe acquired new conſideration and importance; the marriage of his niece to the apparent heir of the crown, raiſing him ſo far beyond the condition of other ſubjects, as ſeemed to render the credit which he had gained by his great actions, no leſs permanent than it was extenſive.

Marriage of the Dauphin with the Queen of Scots.

April 14.

[a] Keith's hiſtory of Scotland, p. 73. Append. 13. Corps Diplom. v. 21.

WHEN

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The campaign opened.

When the campaign opened, ſoon after the Dauphin's marriage, the Duke of Guiſe was placed at the head of the army with the ſame unlimited powers as formerly. Henry had received ſuch liberal ſupplies from his ſubjects, that the troops under his command were both numerous and well appointed; while Philip, exhauſted by the extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to diſmiſs ſo many of his forces during the winter, that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head againſt him. The Duke of Guiſe did not loſe the favourable opportunity which his ſuperiority afforded him. He inveſted Thionville in the dutchy of Luxemburg, one of the ſtrongeſt towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France by its neighbourood to Metz; and, notwithſtanding the obſtinate valour with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate after a ſiege of three weeks [a].

June 22.

The French army defeated at Gravelines.

But the ſucceſs of this enterprize, which it was expected would lead to other conqueſts, was more than counterbalanced by an event that happened in another part of the Low-Countries. The Marechal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without oppoſition, inveſted Dunkirk with an army of fourteen thouſand men, and took it by ſtorm on the fifth day of the ſiege. From that he advanced towards Nieuport, which muſt have ſoon fallen into his hands, if the approach of the Count of Egmont with a ſuperior army had not made it prudent to retreat. The French troops were ſo much encumbered with the booty which they had got at Dunkirk, or by ravaging the open country, that they moved ſlowly;

[a] Thuan. lib. xx. 690.

and

and Egmont, who had left his heavy baggage and artillery behind him, marched with ſuch rapidity, that he came up with them near Gravelines, and attacked them with the utmoſt impetuoſity. De Termes, who had the choice of the ground, having poſted his troops to advantage in the angle formed by the mouth of the river Aa and the ſea, received him with great firmneſs. Victory remained for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, the deſperate valour of the French, who foreſaw the unavoidable deſtruction that muſt follow upon a rout in an enemy's country, counterbalancing the ſuperior number of the Flemings, when one of thoſe accidents to which human prudence does not extend, decided the conteſt in favour of the latter. A ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips of war, which was cruizing on the coaſt, being drawn by the noiſe of the firing towards the place of the engagement, entered the river Aa and turned its great guns againſt the right wing of the French with ſuch effect as immediately broke that body, and ſpread terror and confuſion through their whole army. The Flemings, to whom aſſiſtance, ſo unexpected and ſo ſeaſonable, gave freſh ſpirit, redoubling their efforts, that they might not loſe the advantage which fortune had preſented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their conſternation, the rout of the French ſoon became univerſal. Near two thouſand were killed on the ſpot; a greater number fell by the hands of the peaſants, who in revenge for the cruelty with which their country had been plundered, purſued the fugitives and maſſacred them without mercy; the reſt were taken priſoners, together with de Termes their general, and many officers of diſtinction [u].

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[u] Thuan. lib. xx. 694.

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The Duke of Guiſe oppoſed to the victorious army.

This ſignal victory, for which the Count of Egmont was afterwards ſo ill requited by Philip, obliged the Duke of Guiſe to relinquiſh all other ſchemes, and to haſten towards the frontier of Picardy, that he might oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy there. This diſaſter reflected new luſtre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whoſe arms victory always attended, and in whoſe conduct as well as good fortune they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced Guiſe's army with ſo many troops drawn from the adjacent garriſons, that it ſoon amounted to forty thouſand men. That of the enemy, after the junction of Egmont with the Duke of Savoy, was not inferior in number. They encamped at the diſtance of a few leagues from one another; and each monarch having joined his reſpective army, it was expected that, after the viciſſitudes of good and bad ſucceſs during this and the former campaign, a deciſive battle would at laſt determine which of the rivals ſhould take the aſcendant for the future, and give law to Europe. But though both had it in their power, neither of them diſcovered any inclination to bring the deciſion of a point of ſuch importance to depend upon the uncertain and fortuitous iſſue of a ſingle battle. The fatal engagements at St. Quintin and Gravelines were too recent to be ſo ſoon forgotten, and the proſpect of encountering the ſame troops, commanded by the ſame generals who had twice triumphed over his arms, inſpired Henry with a degree of caution which was not common to him. Philip, of a genius averſe to bold operations in war, naturally leaned to cautious meaſures, and would hazard nothing againſt a general ſo fortunate and ſucceſsful as the Duke of Guiſe. Both monarchs,

as

as if by agreement, ſtood on the defenſive, and fortifying their camps carefully, avoided every ſkirmiſh or rencounter that might bring on a general engagement. BOOK XII. 1558.

WHILE the armies continued in this inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip diſcovered an inclination to liſten to any overture that tended to re-eſtabliſh it. The kingdoms of France and Spain had been engaged during half a century in almoſt continual wars, carried on at great expence and productive of no conſiderable advantage to either. Exhauſted by extraordinary and unceaſing efforts, which far exceeded thoſe to which the nations of Europe had been accuſtomed before the rivalſhip between Charles V. and Francis I. both nations longed ſo much for an interval of repoſe, in order to recruit their ſtrength, that their ſovereigns drew from them with difficulty the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying on hoſtilities. The private inclinations of both the Kings concurred with thoſe of their people. Philip was prompted to wiſh for peace by his fond deſire of returning to Spain. Accuſtomed from his infancy to the climate and manners of that country, he was attached to it with ſuch extreme predilection, that he was unhappy in any other part of his dominions. But as he could not either with decency or ſafety quit the Low-Countries, and venture on a voyage to Spain, during the continuance of war, the proſpect of a pacification which would put it in his power to execute this favourite ſcheme, was highly acceptable. Henry was no leſs deſirous of being delivered from the burden, and avocations of war, that he might have leiſure to turn all his attention, and bend the whole force of his government towards ſuppreſſing the

Both monarchs begin to deſire peace.

Book XII. 1558. opinions of the Reformers, which were ſpreading with ſuch rapidity in Paris and other great towns of France, that they began to grow formidable to the eſtabliſhed church.

An intrigue in the court of France facilitates it.

BESIDES theſe publick and avowed conſiderations ariſing from the ſtate of the two hoſtile kingdoms, or from the wiſhes of their reſpective monarchs, there was a ſecret intrigue carried on in the court of France, which contributed as much as either of the other, to haſten and to facilitate the negociation of a peace. The Conſtable Montmorency, during his captivity, beheld the rapid ſucceſs and growing favour of the Duke of Guiſe, with the envious ſolicitude of a rival. Every advantage gained by him he conſidered as a freſh wound to his own reputation, and he knew with what malevolent addreſs it would be improved to diminiſh his credit with the King, and to augment that of the Duke of Guiſe. Theſe arts, he was afraid, might, by degrees, work on the eaſy and ductile mind of Henry, ſo as to efface all remains of his ancient affection towards him. But he could not diſcover any remedy for this unleſs he were allowed to return home, that he might try whether by his preſence he could defeat the artifices of his enemies, and revive thoſe warm and tender ſentiments which had long attached Henry to him, with a confidence ſo entire, as reſembled rather the cordiality of private friendſhip, than the cold and ſelfiſh connection between a monarch and one of his courtiers. While Montmorency was forming ſchemes and wiſhes for his return to France with much anxiety of mind, but with little hope of ſucceſs, an unexpected incident prepared the way for it. The Cardinal of Lorrain, who had ſhared with his brother in the King's favour, and participated of the power which that conferred, did not bear proſperity

rity with the ſame diſcretion as the Duke of Guiſe. Intoxicated with their good fortune, he forgot how much they had been indebted for their preſent elevation to their connections with the Ducheſs of Valentinois, and vainly aſcribed all to the extraordinary merit of their family. This led him not only to neglect his benefactreſs, but to thwart her ſchemes, and to talk with a ſarcaſtick liberty of her character and perſon. That ſingular woman, who, if we may believe contemporary writers, retained the beauty and charms of youth at the age of threeſcore, and on whom it is certain that Henry ſtill doated with all the fondneſs of love, felt this injury with ſenſibility, and ſet herſelf with eagerneſs to revenge it. As there was no method of ſupplanting the Princes of Lorrain ſo effectually as by a coalition of intereſts with the Conſtable, ſhe propoſed the marriage of her granddaughter with one of his ſons, as the bond of their future union, and Montmorency readily gave his conſent to the match. Having thus cemented their alliance, the ducheſs employed all her influence with the King in order to confirm his inclinations towards peace, and to induce him to take the ſteps neceſſary for attaining it. She inſinuated that any overture of that kind would come with great propriety from the Conſtable, and if committed to the conduct of his prudence, could hardly fail of ſucceſs.

Henry commits the negociation to Montmorency.

Henry, long accuſtomed to devolve all affairs of importance on the Conſtable, and needing only this encouragement to return to his ancient habits, wrote to him immediately with his uſual familiarity and affection, impowering him at the ſame time to take the firſt opportunity of ſounding Philip and his miniſters with regard to peace. Montmorency made his application to Philip by the

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moſt proper channel. He opened himſelf to the Duke of Savoy, who, notwithſtanding the height of preferment to which he had been raiſed, and the military glory which he had acquired in the Spaniſh ſervice, was weary of remaining in exile, and languiſhed to return into his dominions. As there was no proſpect of his recovering poſſeſſion of theſe by force of arms, he conſidered a definitive treaty of peace between France and Spain, as the only event by which he could hope to obtain reſtitution. Being no ſtranger to Philip's private wiſhes with regard to peace, he eaſily prevailed on him not only to diſcover a diſpoſition on his part towards accommodation, but to permit Montmorency to return, on his parole, to France, that he might confirm his own ſovereign in his pacifick ſentiments. Henry received the Conſtable with the moſt flattering marks of regard; abſence, inſtead of having abated or extinguiſhed his friendſhip, ſeemed to have given it new ardour; and he aſſumed, from the moment of his appearance in court, a higher place, if poſſible, in his affection, and a more perfect aſcendant over his mind, than ever. The Cardinal of Lorrain and Duke of Guiſe prudently gave way to a tide of favour too ſtrong for them to oppoſe, and confining themſelves to their proper departments, permitted, without any ſtruggle, the Conſtable and Ducheſs of Valentinois to direct publick affairs at their pleaſure. They ſoon prevailed on the King to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. Philip did the ſame. The abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congreſs; and all military operations were immediately terminated by a ſuſpenſion of arms.

Death of Charles V.

WHILE theſe preliminary ſteps were taking towards a treaty which reſtored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V. whoſe ambition

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ambition had so long disturbed it, ended his days in the monastry of St. Justus. When Charles entered this retreat, he formed such a plan of life for himself, as would have suited the condition of a private gentleman of a moderate fortune. His table was neat but plain; his domesticks few; his intercourse with them familiar; all the cumbersome and ceremonious forms of attendance on his person were entirely abolished, as destructive of that social ease and tranquillity which he courted in order to sooth the remainder of his days. As the mildness of the climate, together with his deliverance from the burdens and cares of government procured him at first, a considerable remission from the acute pains with which he had been long tormented, he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete satisfaction in this humble solitude, than all his grandeur had ever yielded him. The ambitious thoughts and projects which had so long engrossed and disquieted him, were quite effaced from his mind: Far from taking any part in the political transactions of the Princes of Europe, he restrained his curiosity even from any inquiry concerning them; and he seemed to view the busy scene which he had abandoned with all the contempt and indifference arising from his thorough experience of its vanity, as well as from the pleasing reflection of having disentangled himself from its cares.

His amusements in his retreat.

OTHER amusements, and other objects now occupied him. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one that he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of these more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen who resided

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near the monaſtry to viſit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or he employed himſelf in ſtudying the principles and in forming curious works of mechaniſm, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Turriano, one of the moſt ingenious artiſts of that age, to accompany him in his retreat. He laboured together with him in framing models of the moſt uſeful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their reſpective powers, and it was not ſeldom that the ideas of the monarch aſſiſted or perfected the inventions of the artiſt. He relieved his mind, at intervals, with ſlighter and more fantaſtick works of mechaniſm, in faſhioning puppets, which by the ſtructure of internal ſprings, mimicked the geſtures and actions of men, to the no ſmall aſtoniſhment of the ignorant monks, who beholding movements, which they could not comprehend, ſometimes diſtruſted their own ſenſes, and ſometimes ſuſpected Charles and Turriano of being in compact with inviſible powers. He was particularly curious with regard to the conſtruction of clocks and watches, and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is ſaid, with a mixture of ſurprize and regret on his own folly, in having beſtowed ſo much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a preciſe uniformity of ſentiment concerning the intricate and myſterious doctrines of religion.

His more ſerious occupations.

But in what manner ſoever Charles diſpoſed of the reſt of his time, he conſtantly reſerved a conſiderable portion of it for religious exerciſes. He regularly attended divine ſervice

ſervice in the chapel of the monaſtry, every morning and evening; he took great pleaſure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Auguſtine and St. Bernard; and converſed much with his confeſſor, and the prior of the monaſtry on pious ſubjects. Thus did Charles paſs the firſt year of his retreat, in a manner not unbecoming a man perfectly diſengaged from the affairs of the preſent life, and ſtanding on the confines of a future world either in innocent amuſements, which ſoothed his pains, and relieved a mind worn out with exceſſive application to buſineſs; or in devout occupations, which he deemed neceſſary in preparing for another ſtate.

The cauſes of his death.

But about ſix months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermiſſion than uſual, returned with a proportional increaſe of violence. His ſhattered conſtitution had ſcarce vigour enough remaining to withſtand ſuch a ſhock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from that period we ſcarce diſcern any traces of that ſound and maſculine underſtanding, which diſtinguiſhed Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid ſuperſtition depreſſed his ſpirit. He had no reliſh for amuſements of any kind. He endeavoured to conform, in his manner of living, to all the rigour of monaſtick auſterity. He deſired no other ſociety than that of monks, and was almoſt continually employed with them in chanting the hymns in the Miſſal. As an expiation for his ſins, he gave himſelf the diſcipline in ſecret with ſuch ſeverity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the inſtrument of his puniſhment, was found after his deceaſe tinged with his blood. Nor was he ſatisfied with theſe acts of mortification, which, however ſevere, were not unexampled. The timorous and diſtruſtful ſolicitude which always

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accompanies ſuperſtition ſtill continued to diſquiet him, and depreciating all that he had done, prompted him to aim at ſomething extraordinary, at ſome new and ſingular act of piety that would diſplay his zeal, and merit the favour of heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon, as any that ſuperſtition ever ſuggeſted to a weak and diſordered fancy. He reſolved to celebrate his own obſequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monaſtry. His domeſticks marched thither in funeral proceſſion, with black tapers in their hands. He himſelf followed in his ſhroud. He was laid in his coffin, with much ſolemnity. The ſervice for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the reſt of his ſoul, mingling his tears with thoſe which his attendants ſhed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony cloſed with ſprinkling holy water on the coffin in the uſual form, and all the aſſiſtants retiring, the doors of the chapel were ſhut. Then Charles roſe out of the coffin and withdrew to his apartment, full of theſe awful ſentiments, which ſuch a ſingular ſolemnity was calculated to inſpire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impreſſion which this image of death left on his mind affected him ſo much, that next day he was ſeized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long reſiſt its violence, and he expired on the twenty-firſt of September, after a life of fifty-eight years, ſix months, and twenty-five days.

[z] Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. p. 11. Thuan. 723. Sandov. ii. 609, &c. Miniana Contin. Marianæ, vol. iv. 216. Vera y Zuniga vida de Carlos, p. 111.

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His character.

As Charles was the firſt prince of the age in rank and dignity, the part which he acted, whether we conſider the greatneſs, the variety, or the ſucceſs of his undertakings, was the moſt conſpicuous. It is from an attentive obſervation of his conduct, not from the exaggerated praiſes of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, or the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure of the French, that a juſt idea of Charles's genius and abilities is to be collected. He poſſeſſed qualities ſo peculiar, as ſtrongly mark his character, and not only diſtinguiſh him from the Princes who were his contemporaries, but account for that ſuperiority over them which he ſo long maintained. In forming his ſchemes, he was, by nature, as well as by habit, cautious and conſiderate. Born with talents, which unfolded themſelves ſlowly, and were late in attaining maturity, he was accuſtomed to ponder every ſubject that demanded his conſideration with a careful and deliberate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and dwelling upon it with a ſerious application, undiverted by pleaſure, and hardly relaxed by any amuſement, he revolved it, in ſilence, in his own breaſt. He then communicated the matter to his miniſters, and after hearing their opinions, took his reſolution with a deciſive firmneſs, which ſeldom follows ſuch ſlow conſultations. In conſequence of this, Charles's meaſures, inſtead of reſembling the deſultory and irregular ſallies of Henry VIII. or Francis I. had the appearance of a conſiſtent ſyſtem, in which all the parts were arranged, the effects were foreſeen, and the accidents were provided for. His promptitude in execution was no leſs remarkable than his patience in deliberation. He conſulted with phlegm, but he acted with vigour; and did not diſcover greater ſagacity in his choice of the meaſures which it was proper to purſue, than fertility of genius in finding out the

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means for rendering his purſuit of them ſucceſsful. Though he had naturally ſo little of the martial turn, that during the moſt ardent and buſtling period of life, he remained in the cabinet inactive, yet when he choſe at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was ſo formed for vigorous exertions in every direction, that he acquired ſuch knowledge in the art of war, and ſuch talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and ſucceſs to the moſt able generals of the age. But Charles poſſeſſed, in the moſt eminent degree, the ſcience which is of greateſt importance to a monarch, that of knowing men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments which he allotted to them. From the death of Chievres to the end of his reign, he employed no general in the field, no miniſter in the cabinet, no ambaſſador to a foreign court, no governor of a province, whoſe abilities were inadequate to the truſt which he repoſed in them. Though deſtitute of that bewitching affability of manners, which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his perſon, he was no ſtranger to the virtues which ſecure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their ſervices with munificence; he neither envied their fame, nor diſcovered any jealouſy of their power. Almoſt all the generals who conducted his armies may be placed on a level with thoſe illuſtrious perſonages, who have attained the higheſt eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals are to be aſcribed ſo manifeſtly to the ſuperior abilities of the commanders whom he ſet in oppoſition to them, that this might ſeem to detract, in ſome degree, from his own merit, if the talent of diſcovering and employing ſuch inſtruments were not the moſt undoubted proof of a capacity for government.

THERE were, nevertheleſs, defects in his political character which muſt conſiderably abate the admiration due to his extraordinary talents. Charles's ambition was inſatiable; and though there ſeems to be no foundation for an opinion prevalent in his own age, that he had formed the chimerical project of eſtabliſhing an univerſal monarchy in Europe, it is certain that his deſire of being diſtinguiſhed as a conqueror involved him in continual wars, which exhauſted and oppreſſed his ſubjects, and left him little leiſure for giving attention to the interior police and improvement of his kingdoms, the great objects of every Prince who makes the happineſs of his people the end of his government. Charles, at a very early period of life, having added the Imperial crown to the kingdoms of Spain, and to the hereditary dominions of the houſes of Auſtria and Burgundy, this opened to him ſuch a vaſt field of enterprize, and engaged him in ſchemes ſo complicated as well as arduous, that feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of theſe, he had often recourſe to low artifices unbecoming his ſuperior talents, and ſometimes ventured on ſuch deviations from integrity as were diſhonourable in a great Prince. His inſidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conſpicuous, and was rendered more odious, by a compariſon with the open and undeſigning character of his contemporaries Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference, though occaſioned chiefly by the diverſity of their tempers, muſt be aſcribed, in ſome degree to ſuch an oppoſition in the principles of their political conduct as affords ſome excuſe for this defect in Charles's behaviour, though it cannot ſerve as a juſtification of it. Francis and Henry ſeldom acted but from the impulſe of their paſſions, and ruſhed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's meaſures being the reſult of cool re-

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flection, were diſpoſed into a regular ſyſtem, and carried on upon a concerted plan. Perſons who act in the former manner naturally purſue the end in view without aſſuming any diſguiſe, or diſplaying much addreſs. Such as hold the latter courſe are apt, in forming as well as in executing their deſigns, to employ ſuch refinements, as always lead to artifice in conduct, and often degenerate into deceit.

The circumſtances tranſmitted to us, with reſpect to Charles's private deportment and character, are fewer and leſs intereſting, than might have been expected, from the great number of authors who have undertaken to write an account of his life. Theſe are not the object of this hiſtory, which aims at repreſenting the tranſactions of the reign of Charles V. not at delineating his private virtues or defects.

Conference in order to peace.

MEANWHILE the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain and England continued their conferences at Cercamp; and though each of them, with the uſual art of negociators, made at firſt very high demands in name of their reſpective courts, yet as they were all equally deſirous of peace, they would have conſented reciprocally to ſuch abatements and reſtrictions of their claims as muſt have removed every obſtacle to an accommodation. The death of Charles V. was a new motive with Philip to haſten the concluſion of a treaty, as it increaſed his impatience for returning into Spain, where there was now no perſon greater or more illuſtrious than himſelf. But in ſpite of the concurring wiſhes of all the parties intereſted, an event happened which occaſioned an unavoidable delay in their negociations. About a month after the opening of the conferences at Cercamp,

camp, Mary of England ended her ſhort and inglorious reign, and Elizabeth her ſiſter was immediately proclaimed Queen by the Engliſh with univerſal joy. As the powers of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries expired on the death of their miſtreſs, they could not proceed until they received a commiſſion and inſtructions from their new ſovereign.

1558. Nov. 17. Death of Mary of England.

HENRY and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation to the throne with equal ſollicitude. As during Mary's jealous adminiſtration, under the moſt difficult circumſtances, and in a ſituation extremely delicate, ſhe had conducted herſelf with prudence and addreſs far exceeding her years, they had conceived an high idea of her abilities, and already formed expectations of a reign very different from that of her ſiſter. Equally ſenſible of the importance of gaining her favour, both monarchs ſet themſelves with emulation to court it, and employed every art in order to inſinuate themſelves into her confidence. Each of them had ſomething meritorious, with regard to Elizabeth, to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat in his dominions, if the dread of her ſiſter's violence ſhould force her to fly for ſafety out of England. Philip had, by his powerful interceſſion, prevented Mary from proceeding to the moſt fatal extremities againſt her. Each of them endeavoured now, to avail himſelf of the circumſtances in his favour. Henry wrote to Elizabeth ſoon after her acceſſion with the warmeſt expreſſions of regard and friendſhip. He repreſented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her huſband and fond compliance with all his wiſhes. He entreated her to diſengage herſelf from an alliance which had proved ſo unfortunate to

Henry and Philip court Elizabeth her ſucceſſor.

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England, and to consent to a separate peace with him, without mingling her interests with those of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to lose his connection with England, the importance of which during a rupture with France he had so recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cultivate the strictest amity with her, but in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a dispensation from the Pope to that effect.

Elizabeth's deliberations concerning her conduct.

ELIZABETH weighed the proposals of the two Monarchs attentively, and with that provident discernment of her true interest which was conspicuous in all her deliberations. She gave some encouragement to Henry's overture of a separate negociation, because it opened a channel of correspondence with France, which she might find to be of great advantage, if Philip should not discover sufficient zeal and sollicitude for securing to her proper terms in the joint treaty. But she ventured on this with the utmost reserve and caution, that she might not alarm Philip's suspicious temper, and lose an ally in attempting to gain an enemy[y]. Henry himself, by an unpardonable act of indiscretion, prevented her from carrying her intercourse with him to such a length as might have offended or alienated Philip. At the very time he was courting Elizabeth's friendship with the greatest assiduity, he yielded with an inconsiderate facility to the sollicitations of the Princes of Lorrain, and allowed his daugh-

[y] Forbes i. p. 4.

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ter-in-law the Queen of Scots to assume the title and arms of Queen of England. This ill-timed pretension, the source of many calamities to the unfortunate Queen of Scots, extinguished at once all the confidence that might have grown between Henry and Elizabeth, and left in its place distrust, resentment and antipathy. Elizabeth found that she must unite her interests closely with Philip's, and expect peace only from negociations carried on in conjunction with him [z]. Book XII. 1558.

As she had granted a commission, immediately after her accession, to the same plenipotentiaries whom her sister had employed, she now instructed them to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take no step until they had previously consulted with them [a]. But though she deemed it prudent to assume this appearance of confidence in the Spanish Monarch, she knew precisely how far to carry it; and discovered no inclination to accept of that extraordinary proposal of marriage which Philip had made to her. The English had expressed so openly their detestation of her sister's choice of him, that it would have been highly imprudent to have exasperated them by renewing that odious alliance. She was too well acquainted with Philip's harsh imperious temper, to think of him for a husband. Nor could she admit a dispensation from the Pope to be sufficient to authorize her marrying him, without condemning her father's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, and acknowledging of consequence that her mother's

She empowers her ambassadors to treat of peace.

[z] Strype's Annals of the Reformation, i. 11. Carte's Hist. of Engl. vol. iii. p. 375. [a] Forbes full view, i. 1. 37. 40.

Book XII. 1558. marriage was null and her own birth illegitimate. But though ſhe determined not to yield to Philip's addreſſes, the ſituation of her affairs rendered it dangerous to reject them; ſhe returned her anſwer, therefore, in terms which were evaſive, but ſo tempered with reſpect, that though they gave him no reaſon to be ſecure of ſucceſs, they did not altogether extinguiſh his hopes.

Negociations at Cateau-Cambreſis.

1559. February 6.

By this artifice, as well as by the prudence with which ſhe concealed her ſentiments and intentions concerning religion, for ſome time after her acceſſion, ſhe ſo far gained upon Philip, that he warmly eſpouſed her intereſt in the conferences which were renewed at Cercamp, and afterwards removed to Cateau-Cambreſis. A definitive treaty, which was to adjuſt the claims and pretenſions of ſo many Princes, required the examination of ſuch a variety of intricate points, and led to ſuch infinite and minute details, as drew out the negociations to a great length. But the conſtable Montmorency exerted himſelf with ſuch indefatigable zeal and induſtry, repairing alternately to the courts of Paris and Bruſſels, in order to obviate or remove every difficulty, that all points in diſpute were adjuſted at length in ſuch a manner, as to give entire ſatisfaction in every particular to Henry and Philip; and the laſt hand was ready to be put to the treaty between them.

Difficulties with regard to the claims of England.

The claims of England remained as the only obſtacle to retard it. Elizabeth demanded the reſtitution of Calais, in the moſt peremptory tone, as an eſſential condition of her conſenting to peace; Henry refuſed to give up that important conqueſt; and both ſeemed to have taken their reſolution with unalterable

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unalterable firmneſs. Philip warmly ſupported Elizabeth's pretenſions to Calais, not merely from a principle of equity towards the Engliſh nation, that he might appear to have contributed to their recovering what they had loſt by eſpouſing his cauſe; nor ſolely with a view of ſoothing Elizabeth by this manifeſtation of zeal for her intereſt; but in order to render France leſs formidable, by ſecuring to her antient enemy this eaſy acceſs into the heart of the kingdom. The earneſtneſs, however, with which he ſeconded the arguments of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, ſoon began to relax. During the courſe of the negociation, Elizabeth, who now felt herſelf firmly ſeated on her throne, began to take ſuch open and vigorous meaſures not only for overturning all that her ſiſter had done in favour of popery, but for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant church on a firm foundation, as convinced Philip that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now deſperate. From that period, his interpoſitions in her favour became more cold and formal, flowing merely from regard to decorum, or from the conſideration of remote political intereſts. Elizabeth, having reaſon to expect ſuch an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But as nothing would have been of greater detriment to her people, or more inconſiſtent with her ſchemes of domeſtick adminiſtration, than the continuance of a war with France, ſhe ſaw the neceſſity of ſubmitting to ſuch conditions as the ſituation of her affairs impoſed, and that ſhe muſt lay her account with being deſerted by an ally who was now united to her by a very feeble tie, if ſhe did not ſpeedily reduce her demands to what was moderate and attainable. She accordingly gave new inſtructions to her ambaſſadors; and Philip's plenipoten-

Book XII. 1559. tiaries acting as mediators between the French and them[b], an expedient was fallen on, which juſtified, in ſome degree, Elizabeth's departing from the rigour of her firſt demand with regard to Calais. All leſſer articles were ſettled without much diſcuſſion or delay. Philip, that he might not appear to have abandoned the Engliſh, inſiſted that the treaty between Henry and Elizabeth ſhould be concluded in form, before that between the French monarch and him. The one was ſigned on the ſecond day of April, the other on the day following.

Articles of peace between France and England.

THE treaty of peace between France and England contained no articles of real importance, but that which reſpected Calais. It was ſtipulated that the King of France ſhould retain poſſeſſion of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years; that, at the expiration of that term, he ſhould reſtore it to England; that in caſe of non-performance, he ſhould forfeit five hundred thouſand crowns, for the payment of which ſum, ſeven or eight wealthy merchants, who were not his ſubjects, ſhould grant ſecurity; that five perſons of diſtinction ſhould be given as hoſtages till that ſecurity were provided; that, although the forfeit of five hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be paid, the right of England to Calais ſhould ſtill remain entire, in the ſame manner as if the term of eight years were expired; that the King and Queen of Scotland ſhould be included in the treaty; that if they, or the French King, ſhould violate the peace by any hoſtile action, Henry ſhould be obliged inſtantly to reſtore Calais; that on the other hand, if any breach of the treaty proceeded from Elizabeth, then Henry and the King and Queen of Scots were abſolved from all the engagements which they had come under by this treaty.

[b] Forbes, i. 59.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the ſtudied attention with which ſo many precautions were taken, it is evident that Henry did not intend the reſtitution of Calais, nor is it probable that Elizabeth expected it. It was hardly poſſible that ſhe could maintain, during the courſe of eight years, ſuch perfect concord both with France and Scotland, as not to afford Henry ſome pretext for alledging that ſhe had violated the treaty. But even if that term ſhould elapſe without any ground for complaint, Henry might then chuſe to pay the ſum ſtipulated, and Elizabeth had no method of aſſerting her right but by force of arms. However, by throwing the articles in the treaty with regard to Calais into this form, Elizabeth ſatisfied her ſubjects of every denomination; ſhe gave men of diſcernment a ſtriking proof of her addreſs, in palliating what ſhe could not prevent; and amuſed the multitude, to whom the final ſurrender of a place of ſuch importance would have appeared altogether infamous, with the proſpect of recovering in a ſhort time that favourite poſſeſſion.

The views of both parties with reſpect to theſe.

THE expedient which Montmorency employed, in order to facilitate the concluſion of peace between France and Spain, was the negociating two treaties of marriage, one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, and Philip, who ſupplanted his ſon, the unfortunate Don Carlos, to whom that Princeſs had been promiſed in the former conferences at Cercamp; the other between Margaret, Henry's only ſiſter, and the duke of Savoy. For feeble as the ties of blood often are among Princes, or how little ſoever they may regard them when puſhed on to act by motives of ambition, they aſſume on other occaſions the appearance of being ſo far influenced by theſe domeſtick affections, as to employ them to juſtify meaſures and conceſſions which they find to be neceſſary, but know to be impolitic or diſhonourable.

An expedient, which promotes peace between France and Spain.

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nourable. Such was the uſe Henry made of the two marriages to which he gave his conſent. Having ſecured an honourable eſtabliſhment for his ſiſter and his daughter, he, in conſideration of theſe, granted terms both to Philip and the duke of Savoy, of which he would not, on any other account, have ventured to approve.

The terms of pacification.

THE principal articles in the treaty between France and Spain were, That a ſincere and perpetual amity ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the two crowns and their reſpective allies; that the two monarchs ſhould labour in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progreſs of hereſy, and reſtore unity and concord to the Chriſtian church; that all conqueſts made by either party, on this ſide of the Alps, ſince the commencement of the war in one thouſand five hundred and fifty-one, ſhould be mutually reſtored; that the dutchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the country of Breſſe, and all the other territories formerly ſubject to the dukes of Savoy, ſhould be reſtored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France, the towns of Turin, Quiers, Pignerol, Chivaz and Villanova excepted, of which Henry ſhould keep poſſeſſion until his claims on that Prince, in right of his grandmother, ſhould be heard and decided in courſe of law; that as long as Henry retained theſe places in his hands, Philip ſhould be at liberty to keep garriſons in the towns of Vercelli and Aſti; that the French King ſhould immediately evacuate all the places which he held in Tuſcany and the Sieneſe, and renounce all future pretenſions to them; that he ſhould reſtore the marquiſate of Montferrat to the duke of Mantua; that he ſhould receive the Genoeſe into favour, and give up to them the

the towns which he had conquered in the iſland of Corſica; that none of the Princes or ſtates, to whom theſe ceſſions were made, ſhould call their ſubjects to account for any part of their conduct while under the dominion of their enemies, but ſhould bury all paſt tranſactions in oblivion. The Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Portugal, the King and Queen of Scots, and almoſt every Prince and ſtate in Chriſtendom, were comprehended in this pacification as the allies either of Henry or of Philip[c].

Which re-eſtabliſhes tranquillity in Europe.

THUS, by this famous treaty, peace was re-eſtabliſhed in Europe. All the cauſes of diſcord which had ſo long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, which had tranſmitted hereditary quarrels and wars from Charles to Philip, and from Francis to Henry, ſeemed to be wholly removed, or finally terminated: The French alone complained of the unequal conditions of a treaty, into which an ambitious miniſter, in order to recover his liberty, and an artful miſtreſs, that ſhe might gratify her reſentment, had ſeduced their too eaſy monarch. They exclaimed loudly againſt the folly of giving up to the enemies of France, an hundred and eighty-nine fortified places, in the Low-Countries or in Italy, in return for the three inſignificant towns of St. Quintin, Ham and Catelet. They conſidered it as an indelible ſtain upon the glory of the nation, to renounce in one day territories ſo extenſive, and ſo capable of being defended, that the enemy could not have hoped to wreſt them out of their hands, after many years of victory and ſucceſs.

[c] Recueil des Traitez, t. ii. 287.

BUT

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1559.

The peace between France and Spain ratified.

BUT Henry, without regarding the ſentiments of his people, or being moved by the remonſtrances of his council, ratified the treaty, and executed with great fidelity whatever he had ſtipulated to perform. The duke of Savoy repaired with a numerous retinue to Paris, in order to celebrate his marriage with Henry's ſiſter. The duke of Alva was ſent to the ſame capital, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy, to eſpouſe Elizabeth in name of his maſter. They were received with extraordinary magnificence by the French court. Amidſt the rejoicings and feſtivities on

Death of Henry, July 10.

that occaſion, Henry's days were cut ſhort by a ſingular and tragical accident. His ſon, Francis II. a Prince under age, of a feeble conſtitution, and of a mind ſtill weaker, ſucceeded him.

Auguſt 18.

Soon after, Paul ended his violent and imperious Pontificate, at enmity with all the world, and diſguſted even with his own nephews. They, perſecuted by Philip, and deſerted by the ſucceeding Pope, whom they had raiſed by their influence to the Papal throne, were condemned to the puniſhment which their crimes and ambition had merited, and their death was as infamous as their lives had been criminal. Thus all the perſonages, who had long ſuſtained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe, diſappeared about the ſame time. A more known period of hiſtory opens at this æra; other actors appear on the ſtage, with different views and different paſſions; new conteſts aroſe, and new ſchemes of ambition occupied and diſquieted mankind.

A general review of the whole period.

UPON reviewing the tranſactions of any active period, in the hiſtory of civilized nations, the changes which are accompliſhed appear wonderfully diſproportioned to the efforts which have been exerted. Conqueſts are never very extenſive or rapid, but among nations, whoſe progreſs in improvement is extremely unequal.

equal. When Alexander the Great, at the head of a gallant people, of ſimple manners, and formed to war by admirable military inſtitutions, invaded a ſtate ſunk in luxury, and enervated by exceſſive refinement; when Genchizcan and Tamerlane, with their armies of hardy barbarians, poured in upon nations, enfeebled by the climate in which they lived, or by the arts and commerce which they cultivated, they, like a torrent, ſwept every thing before them, ſubduing kingdoms and provinces in as ſhort a ſpace of time as was requiſite to march through them. But when nations are in a ſimilar ſtate, and keep pace with each other in their advances towards refinement, they are not expoſed to the calamity of ſudden conqueſt. Their acquiſitions of knowledge, their progreſs in the art of war, their political ſagacity and addreſs, are nearly equal. The fate of ſtates in this ſituation, depends not on a ſingle battle. Their internal reſources are many and various. Nor are they themſelves alone intereſted in their own ſafety, or active in their own defence. Other ſtates interpoſe, and balance any temporary advantage which either party may have acquired. After the fierceſt and moſt lengthened conteſt, all the rival nations are exhauſted, none are conquered. At length a peace is concluded, which re-inſtates each in poſſeſſion of almoſt the ſame power and the ſame territories.

The nations of Europe in a ſimilar ſtate during the ſixteenth century.

Such was the ſtate of Europe during the reign of Charles V. No Prince was ſo much ſuperior to the reſt in power, as to render his efforts irreſiſtible, and his conqueſts eaſy. No nation had made progreſs in improvement ſo far beyond its neighbours as to have acquired a very manifeſt pre-eminence. Each ſtate derived ſome advantage, or was ſubject to ſome inconvenience, from its ſituation or its climate; each was diſtinguiſhed by ſomething peculiar in the genius of its people, or the conſtitution of its government;

Book XII. vernment. But the advantages poſſeſſed by one, were counterballanced by circumſtances favourable to others; and this prevented any from attaining ſuch ſuperiority as might have been fatal to all. The nations of Europe in that age, as in the preſent, were like one great family; there were ſome features common to all, which fixed a reſemblance; there were certain peculiarities conſpicuous in each, which marked a diſtinction. But there was not among them that wide diverſity of character and of genius which, in almoſt every period of hiſtory, hath exalted the Europeans above the inhabitants of the other quarters of the globe, and ſeems to have deſtined the one to rule, and the other to obey.

A remarkable change in the ſtate of Europe, during the reign of Charles V.

But though the near reſemblance and equality in improvement among the different nations of Europe, prevented the reign of Charles V. from being diſtinguiſhed by ſuch ſudden and extenſive conqueſts as occur in ſome other periods of hiſtory, yet, during the courſe of his adminiſtration, all the conſiderable ſtates in Europe ſuffered a remarkable change in their political ſituation, and felt the influence of events, which have not hitherto ſpent their force, but ſtill continue to operate in a greater or in a leſs degree. It was during his reign, and in conſequence of the perpetual efforts to which his enterprizing ambition rouzed them, that the different kingdoms of Europe acquired internal vigour, that they diſcerned the reſources of which they were poſſeſſed, that they came both to feel their own ſtrength, and to know how to render it formidable to others. It was during his reign, too, that the different kingdoms of Europe, formerly ſingle and disjoined, became ſo thoroughly acquainted, and ſo intimately connected with each other, as to form one great political

tical ſyſtem, in which each took a ſtation, wherein it has remained ſince that time with leſs variation than could have been expected after the events of two active centuries.

The progreſs of the houſe of Auſtria.

THE progreſs, however, and acquiſitions of the houſe of Auſtria, were not only greater than thoſe of any other power, but more diſcernible and conſpicuous. I have already enumerated the vaſt territories which deſcended to Charles from his Auſtrian, Burgundian, and Spaniſh anceſtors *. To theſe he himſelf added the Imperial dignity; and, as if all this had been too little, the bounds of the univerſe were extended, and a new world ſubjected to his command. Upon his reſignation, the Burgundian provinces, and the Spaniſh kingdoms with their dependencies, both in the old and new worlds, devolved to Philip. But Charles tranſmitted his dominions to his ſon, in a condition very different from that in which he had received them. They were augmented by the acceſſion of new provinces; they were habituated to obey an adminiſtration which was no leſs vigorous than ſteady; they were accuſtomed to expenſive and perſevering efforts, which, though neceſſary in the conteſts between civilized nations, had been little known in Europe before the ſixteenth century. The provinces of Friesland, Utrecht and Overyſſel, which he acquired by purchaſe from their former proprietors, and the dutchy of Gelders, of which he made himſelf maſter, partly by force of arms, and partly by the arts of negociation, were additions of great value to his Burgundian dominions. Ferdinand and Iſabella had tranſmitted to him all the provinces of Spain, from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal; but as he maintained a perpetual peace

* Vol. ii. p. 2.

BOOK XII. with that kingdom, amidſt the various efforts of his enterprizing ambition, he made no acquiſition of territory in that quarter.

Particularly in Spain.

CHARLES had gained, however, a vaſt acceſſion of power in this part of his dominions. By his ſucceſs in the war with the commons of Caſtile, he exalted the regal prerogative on the ruins of the privileges of the people. Though he allowed the name of the Cortes to remain, and the formality of holding it to be continued, he reduced its authority and juriſdiction to nothing, and modelled it in ſuch a manner, that it became rather a junto of the ſervants of the crown, than an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people. One member of the conſtitution being thus lopped off, it was impoſſible but that the other muſt feel the ſtroke, and ſuffer by it. The ſuppreſſion of the popular power rendered the ariſtocratical leſs formidable. The grandees, prompted by the warlike ſpirit of the age, or allured by the honours which they enjoyed in a court, exhauſted their fortunes in military ſervice, or in attending on the perſon of their Prince. They did not dread, perhaps did not obſerve, the dangerous progreſs of the royal authority, which leaving them the vain diſtinction of being covered in preſence of their ſovereign, ſtripped them by degrees of that real power which they poſſeſſed while they formed one body, and acted in concert with the people. Charles's ſucceſs in aboliſhing the privileges of the commons, and in breaking the power of the nobles of Caſtile, encouraged Philip to invade the liberties of Aragon, which were ſtill more extenſive. The Caſtilians, accuſtomed to ſubjection themſelves, aſſiſted in impoſing the yoke on their more happy and independant neighbours. The will of the ſovereign became the ſupreme law in all the kingdoms of Spain; and Princes who were not checked in form-

ing their plans by the jealouſy of the people, nor controuled in executing them by the power of the nobles, could both aim at great objects and call forth the whole ſtrength of the monarchy in order to attain them.

Alſo in other parts of Europe.

As Charles, by extending the regal prerogative, rendered the monarchs of Spain maſters at home, he added new dignity and power to their crown by his foreign acquiſitions. He ſecured to Spain the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, which Ferdinand had uſurped by fraud, and held with difficulty. He united the dutchy of Milan, one of the moſt fertile and populous provinces in Italy, to the Spaniſh crown; and left his ſucceſſors, even without taking their other territories into the account, the moſt conſiderable Princes in that country, which had been long the theatre of contention to the great powers of Europe, and in which they had ſtruggled with emulation to obtain the ſuperiority. When the French, in conſequence of the treaty of Cateau Cambreſis, withdrew their forces out of Italy, and finally relinquiſhed all their ſchemes of conqueſt on that ſide of the Alps, the Spaniſh dominions there roſe in importance, and enabled their Kings, as long as the monarchy retained any degree of vigour, to preſerve the chief ſway in all the tranſactions of that country. But whatever acceſſion either of interior authority or of foreign dominion Charles gained for the monarchs of Spain in Europe, it was inconſiderable when compared with his acquiſitions in the new world. He added, there, not provinces, but empires to his crown. He conquered territories of ſuch immenſe extent; he diſcovered ſuch inexhauſtible veins of wealth, and opened ſuch boundleſs proſpects of every kind, as muſt have rouzed and called forth to action his ſucceſſor, though

Book XII. his ambition had been much leſs ardent than Philip's, and muſt have rendered him not only enterprizing but formidable.

Progreſs of the German branch of the houſe of Auſtria.

WHILE the elder branch of the Auſtrian family roſe to ſuch pre-eminence in Spain, the younger, of which Ferdinand was the head, grew to be conſiderable in Germany. The ancient hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany, united to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, which Ferdinand had acquired by marriage, formed a reſpectable power; and when the Imperial dignity was added to theſe, Ferdinand poſſeſſed territories more extenſive than had belonged to any Prince, Charles V. excepted, who had been at the head of the Empire during ſeveral ages. Fortunately for Europe, the diſguſt which Philip conceived an account of Ferdinand's refuſing to relinquiſh the Imperial crown in his favour, not only prevented for ſome time the ſeparate members of the houſe of Auſtria from acting in concert, but occaſioned a viſible alienation and rivalſhip. By degrees, however, regard to the intereſt of their family extinguiſhed this impolitic animoſity. The confidence which was natural returned; the aggrandizing of the houſe of Auſtria became the common object of all their ſchemes; they gave and received aſſiſtance alternately towards the execution of them; and each derived conſideration and importance from the other's ſucceſs. A family ſo great and ſo aſpiring became the general object of jealouſy and terror. All the power as well as policy of Europe were exerted during a century, in order to check and humble it. Nothing can give a more ſtriking idea of the aſcendant which it had acquired, and of the terror which it had inſpired, than that after its vigour was ſpent with extraordinary exertions of its ſtrength, after Spain was

was become only the ſhadow of a great name, and its monarchs were ſunk into debility and dotage, the houſe of Auſtria ſtill continued to be formidable. The nations of Europe had ſo often felt its ſuperior power, and had been ſo conſtantly employed in guarding againſt it, that the dread of it became a kind of political habit, the influence of which remained when the cauſes, which had formed it, ceaſed to exiſt.

Acquiſitions of the Kings of France during the reign of Charles V.

WHILE the houſe of Auſtria went on with ſuch ſucceſs in enlarging its dominions, France made no conſiderable acquiſition of new territory. All its ſchemes of conqueſt in Italy had proved abortive; it had hitherto obtained no eſtabliſhment of conſequence in the new world; and after the continued and vigorous efforts of four ſucceſſive reigns, the confines of the kingdom were much the ſame as Louis XI. had left them. But though France made not ſuch large ſtrides towards dominion as the houſe of Auſtria, it continued to advance by ſteps which were more ſecure, becauſe they were gradual and leſs obſerved. The conqueſt of Calais put it out of the power of the Engliſh to invade France but at their utmoſt peril, and delivered the French from the dread of their ancient enemies, who, previous to that event, could at any time penetrate into the kingdom by that avenue, and thereby retard or defeat the execution of their beſt concerted enterprizes againſt any foreign power. The important acquiſition of Metz covered that part of their frontier which formerly was moſt feeble, and lay moſt expoſed to inſult. France, from the time of its obtaining theſe additional ſecurities againſt external invaſion, muſt be deemed the moſt powerful kingdom in Europe, and is more fortunately ſituated than any on the continent either for conqueſt or defence. From the confines of Artois to the bottom of the

Book XII. Pyrenees, and from the Britiſh channel to the frontiers of Savoy and the coaſt of the Mediterranean, its territories lay compact and unmingled with thoſe of any other power. Several of the conſiderable provinces, which, by their having been long ſubject to the great vaſſals of the crown, who were often at variance or at war with their maſter, had contracted a ſpirit of independance, were now accuſtomed to recognize and to obey one ſovereign. As they became members of the ſame monarchy, they aſſumed the ſentiments of that body into which they were incorporated, and co-operated with zeal towards promoting its intereſt and honour. The power and influence wreſted from the nobles were ſeized by the crown. The people were not admitted to ſhare in theſe ſpoils; they gained no new privilege; they acquired no additional weight in the legiſlature. It was not for the ſake of the people, but in order to extend their own prerogative, that the monarchs of France had laboured to humble their great vaſſals. Satisfied with having brought them under entire ſubjection to the crown, they diſcovered no ſollicitude to free the people from their ancient dependance on the nobles of whom they held.

Enables them to aſſume an higher ſtation among the powers of Europe.

A MONARCH, at the head of a kingdom thus united at home and ſecure from abroad, was entitled to form great deſigns, becauſe he felt himſelf in a condition to execute them. The foreign wars which had continued with little interruption from the acceſſion of Charles VIII. had not only cheriſhed and augmented the martial genius of the nation, but by inuring the troops during the courſe of long ſervice to the fatigues of war, and accuſtoming them to obedience, had added the force of diſcipline to their natural ardour. A gallant and active body of nobles who conſidered

ſidered themſelves as idle and uſeleſs, unleſs when they were in the field; who were ſcarce acquainted with any paſtime or exerciſe but what was military; and who knew no road to power, or fame, or wealth, but war, would not have ſuffered their ſovereign to remain long in inaction. The people, little acquainted with the arts of peace, and always ready to take arms at the command of their ſuperiors, were accuſtomed by the vaſt expence of long wars, carried on in diſtant countries, to bear impoſitions, which, how inconſiderable ſoever they may ſeem if eſtimated by the exorbitant rate of modern exactions, appear immenſe when compared with the ſums levied in France, or in any other country of Europe, previous to the reign of Louis XI. As all the members of which the ſtate was compoſed were thus impatient for action, and capable of great efforts, the ſchemes and operations of France muſt have been no leſs fomidable to Europe than thoſe of Spain. The ſuperior advantages of its ſituation, the contiguity and compactneſs of its territories, together with the peculiar ſtate of its political conſtitution at that juncture muſt have rendered its enterprizes ſtill more alarming and more deciſive. The King poſſeſſed ſuch a degree of power as gave him the entire command of his ſubjects; the people were ſtrangers to thoſe occupations and habits of life which render men averſe to war, or unfit for it; and the nobles, though reduced to the ſubordination neceſſary in a regular government, ſtill retained the high undaunted ſpirit which was the effect of their ancient independence. The vigour of the Feudal times remained, their anarchy was at an end; and the Kings of France could avail themſelves of the martial ardour which that ſingular inſtitution had kindled or kept alive, without being expoſed to any of the dangers or inconveniencies which are inſeparable from it when in entire force.

A KINGDOM

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Circumſtances which prevented the immediate effects of their power.

A KINGDOM in ſuch a ſtate is, perhaps, capable of greater military efforts than at any other period in its progreſs. But how formidable ſoever or fatal to the other nations of Europe the power of ſuch a monarchy might have been, the civil wars which broke out in France ſaved them at that juncture from feeling its effects. Theſe wars, of which religion was the pretext and ambition the cauſe; wherein great abilities were diſplayed by the leaders of the different factions, and little conduct or firmneſs were manifeſted by the crown under a ſucceſſion of weak Princes, kept France occupied and embroiled for half a century. During theſe commotions the internal ſtrength of the kingdom was much waſted, and ſuch a ſpirit of anarchy was ſpread among the nobles to whom rebellion was familiar, and the reſtraint of laws unknown, that a conſiderable interval became requiſite not only for recruiting the internal vigour of the nation, but for re-eſtabliſhing the authority of the Prince; ſo that it was long before France could turn her whole attention towards foreign tranſactions, or act with her proper force in foreign wars. It was long before ſhe roſe to that aſcendant in Europe which ſhe has maintained ſince the adminiſtration of Cardinal Richlieu, and which the ſituation as well as extent of the kingdom, the nature of her government, and the character of her people, entitle her to maintain.

Progreſs of England with reſpect to its interior ſtate.

WHILE the kingdoms on the continent grew into power and conſequence, England likewiſe made conſiderable progreſs towards regular government and interior ſtrength. Henry VIII. probably without intention, and certainly without any conſiſtent plan, of which his nature was incapable, purſued the ſcheme of

of depreſſing the nobility, which the policy of his father Henry VII. had begun. The pride and capriee of his temper led him to employ chiefly new men in the adminiſtration of affairs, becauſe he found them moſt obſequious, or leaſt ſcrupulous; and he not only conferred on theſe ſuch plenitude of power, but exalted them to ſuch pre-eminence in dignity, as mortified and degraded the ancient nobility. By the alienation or ſale of the church lands, which were diſſipated with a profuſion not inferior to the rapaciouſneſs with which they had been ſeized, as well as by the privilege granted to the ancient landholders of ſelling their eſtates, or diſpoſing of them by will, an immenſe property, formerly locked up, being brought into circulation, put the ſpirit of induſtry and commerce in motion, and gave it ſome conſiderable degree of vigour. The road to power and to opulence became open to perſons of every condition. A ſudden and exceſſive flow of wealth from the Weſt Indies proved fatal to induſtry in Spain; a moderate acceſſion in England to the ſum in circulation gave life to commerce, awakened the ingenuity of the nation, and excited it to uſeful enterprize. In France, what the nobles loſt the crown gained. In England, the commons were gainers as well as the King. Power and influence accompanied of courſe the property which they acquired. They roſe to conſideration among their fellow ſubjects; they began to feel their own importance; and extending their influence in the legiſlative body gradually, and often when neither they themſelves nor others foreſaw all the effect of their claims and pretenſions, they at laſt attained that high authority, to which the Britiſh conſtitution is indebted for the exiſtence, and muſt owe the preſervation of its liberty. At the ſame time that the Engliſh conſtitution advanced towards perfection, ſeveral circum-

Book XII. ſtances brought on a change in the ancient ſyſtem with reſpect to foreign powers, and introduced another more beneficial to the nation. By diſclaiming the ſupremacy and juriſdiction of the Papal See, conſiderable ſums were ſaved to the nation, of which it had been annually drained, by remittances to Rome for diſpenſations and indulgences, or in order to defray the expence of pilgrimages into foreign countries *, or by payment of annates, firſt fruits, and a thouſand other taxes which that artful and rapacious court levied on the credulity of mankind. The idea of a juriſdiction different from the civil power, and claiming not only to be independant but ſuperior to it, a wild ſoleciſm in government, apt not only to perplex and diſquiet weak minds, but tending directly to diſturb ſociety, was finally aboliſhed. Government became more ſimple as well as more reſpectable, when no rank or character exempted any perſon from being amenable to the ſame courts, from being tried by the ſame judges, and from being acquitted or condemned by the ſame laws.

With reſpect to the affairs of the continent.

By the loſs of Calais the Engliſh were excluded from the continent. All ſchemes for invading France became of courſe as chimerical as they had formerly been pernicious. The views of the Engliſh were confined, firſt by neceſſity, and afterwards from choice, within their own iſland. That rage for conqueſt which had poſſeſſed the nation during many centuries, and waſted its ſtrength in perpetual and fruitleſs wars,

* The loſs which the nation ſuſtained by moſt of theſe articles is obvious, and muſt have been great. Even that by pilgrimages was not inconſiderable. In the year 1428, licence was obtained by no fewer than 916 perſons to viſit the ſhrine of St. James of Compoſtella in Spain. Rymer, vol. x. p. . In 1434, the number of pilgrims to the ſame place was 2460. Ibid. p. . In 1445, they were 2100. vol. xi. p.

at

at length ceaſed. Thoſe active ſpirits which had known and followed no profeſſion but war, ſought for occupation in the arts of peace, and their country benefited as much by the one at it had ſuffered by the other. The nation, exhauſted by frequent expeditions to the continent, recruited, and acquired new ſtrength; and when rouzed by any extraordinary exigency to take part in foreign operations, the vigour of its efforts were proportionally great, becauſe they were only occaſional and of a ſhort continuance. Book XII.

THE ſame principle which had led England to adopt this new ſyſtem with regard to the powers on the continent occaſioned a change in its plan of conduct with reſpect to Scotland, the only foreign ſtate, with which, on account of its ſituation in the ſame iſland, the Engliſh had ſuch a cloſe connection as demanded their perpetual attention. Inſtead of proſecuting the ancient ſcheme of conquering that kingdom, which the nature of the country, defended by a brave and hardy people, rendered dangerous if not impracticable; it appeared more eligible to endeavour at obtaining ſuch influence in Scotland as might exempt England from any danger or diſquiet from that quarter. The national poverty of the Scots, together with the violence and animoſity of their factions rendered the execution of this plan eaſy to a people far ſuperior to them in wealth. Their popular leaders were gained; the miniſters and favourites of the crown were corrupted; and ſuch abſolute direction of their councils acquired, as rendered the operations of the one kingdom dependant in a great meaſure on the ſovereign of the other. Such perfect external ſecurity added to the interior advantages which England now poſſeſſed, muſt ſoon

With reſpect to Scotland.

Book XII. have raiſed it to new conſideration and importance; the long reign of Elizabeth, equally conſpicuous for wiſdom, for ſteddineſs, and for vigour, accelerated its progreſs, and carried it with greater rapidity towards that elevated ſtation which it hath ſince held among the powers of Europe.

Changes in the political ſtate of the ſecondary powers in Europe.

DURING the period in which the political ſtate of the great kingdoms underwent ſuch changes, revolutions of conſiderable importance happened in that of the ſecondary or inferior powers. Thoſe in the Papal court are moſt obvious, and of moſt extenſive conſequence.

The moſt conſiderable revolution of the ſixteenth century in the court of Rome.

IN the Preliminary Book I have mentioned the riſe of that ſpiritual juriſdiction which the Popes claim as Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, and have traced the progreſs of that authority which they poſſeſs as temporal Princes *. There was nothing previous to the reign of Charles V. that tended to circumſcribe or to moderate their authority, but ſcience and philoſophy, which began to revive and to be cultivated. The progreſs of theſe, however, was ſtill inconſiderable; they always operate ſlowly; and it is long before their influence reaches the people, or can produce any ſenſible effect upon them. They may perhaps gradually, and in a long courſe of years, undermine and ſhake an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of falſe religion, but there is no inſtance of their having overturned one. The battery is too feeble to demoliſh thoſe fabricks which ſuperſtition raiſes on deep foundations, and can ſtrengthen with the moſt conſummate art.

* Vol. I. p. 124.

LUTHER

The general revolt againſt the doctrines of the church of Rome, and the power of the Popes.

LUTHER had attacked the Papal ſupremacy with other weapons, and with an impetuoſity more formidable. The time and manner of his attack concurred with a multitude of circumſtances, which have been explained, in giving him immediate ſucceſs. The charm which had bound mankind for ſo many ages was broken at once. The human mind, which had continued long as tame and paſſive, as if it had been formed to believe whatever was taught, and to bear whatever was impoſed, rouzed of a ſudden and became inquiſitive, mutinous, and diſdainful of the yoke to which it had hitherto ſubmitted. That wonderful ferment and agitation of mind, which, at this diſtance of time, appears unaccountable or is condemned as extravagant, was ſo general, that it muſt have been excited by cauſes which were natural and of powerful efficacy. The Kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, England and Scotland, and almoſt one half of Germany threw off their allegiance to the Pope, aboliſhed his juriſdiction within their territories, and gave the ſanction of law to modes of diſcipline and ſyſtems of doctrine which were not only independant of his power, but hoſtile to it. Nor was this ſpirit of innovation confined to thoſe countries which openly revolted from the Pope; it ſpread through all Europe, and broke out in every part of it with various degrees of violence. It penetrated early into France and made progreſs apace. The number of converts to the opinions of the Reformers was ſo great, their zeal ſo enterprizing, and the abilities of their leaders ſo diſtinguiſhed, that they ſoon ventured to contend for ſuperiority with the eſtabliſhed church, and were ſometimes on the point of obtaining it. In all the provinces of Germany which continued to acknowledge the Papal ſupremacy, as well as in the Low Countries, the Proteſtant doctrines were ſecretly taught,

Book XII. and had gained ſo many proſelytes, that they were ripe for revolt, and were reſtrained merely by the dread of their rulers from imitating the example of their neighbours, and aſſerting their independance. Even in Spain and in Italy, ſymptoms of the ſame diſpoſition to ſhake off the yoke appeared. The pretenſions of the Pope to infallible knowledge and ſupreme power were treated by many perſons of eminent learning and abilities with ſuch ſcorn, or impugned with ſuch vehemence, that the moſt vigilant attention of the civil magiſtrate, the higheſt ſtrains of pontifical authority, and all the rigour of the inquiſitorial juriſdiction were requiſite to check and extinguiſh it.

This abridged the extent of the Pope's dominions,

THE defection of ſo many opulent and powerful kingdoms from the Papal See, was a fatal blow to its grandeur and power. It abridged the dominions of the Popes in extent, it diminiſhed their revenues, and left them fewer rewards to beſtow on the eccleſiaſticks of various denominations, attached to them by vows of obedience as well as by ties of intereſt, and whom they employed as inſtruments to eſtabliſh or ſupport their uſurpations in every part of Europe. The countries too which now diſclaimed their authority, were thoſe which formerly had been moſt devoted to it. The empire of ſuperſtition differs from every other ſpecies of dominion; its power is often greateſt, and moſt implicitly obeyed in the provinces moſt remote from the ſeat of government; while ſuch as are ſituated nearer to that are more apt to diſcern the artifices by which it is upheld, or the impoſtures on which it is founded. The perſonal frailties or vices of the Popes, the errors as well as corruption of their adminiſtration, the ambition, venality and deceit which reigned in their court, fell immediately under the obſervation of the Italians,

lians, and could not fail of diminiſhing that reſpect which begets ſubmiſſion. But in Germany, England, and the more remote countries, theſe were either altogether unknown, or being only known by report, made a ſlighter impreſſion. Their veneration for the Papal dignity increaſed with their diſtance from Rome; and that, added to their groſs ignorance, rendered them equally credulous and paſſive. In tracing the progreſs of the Papal domination, the boldeſt and moſt ſucceſsful inſtances of encroachment are to be found in Germany and other countries diſtant from Italy. In theſe its impoſitions were heavieſt, and its exactions the moſt rapacious; ſo that in eſtimating the diminution of power which the court of Rome ſuffered in conſequence of the Reformation, not only the number but the character of the people who revolted, not only the great extent of territory, but the extraordinary obſequiouſneſs of the ſubjects which it loſt, muſt be taken into the account.

and obliged them to change the ſpirit of their government.

Nor was it only by this defection of ſo many kingdoms and ſtates which it occaſioned, that the Reformation contributed to diminiſh the power of the Roman Pontiffs. It obliged them to adopt a different ſyſtem of conduct towards the nations which continued to recognize their juriſdiction, and to govern them by new maxims and with a milder ſpirit. The Reformation taught them, by a fatal example, what they ſeem not before to have apprehended, that the credulity and patience of mankind might be overburdened and exhauſted. They became afraid of venturing on any ſuch exertion of their authority as might alarm or exaſperate their ſubjects, and excite them to a new revolt. They ſaw a rival church eſtabliſhed in many countries of Europe, the members of which were on the watch to obſerve any errors in their adminiſtration,

Book XII. adminiſtration, and eager to expoſe them. They were ſenſible that the opinions adverſe to their power and uſurpations were not confined to their enemies alone, but had ſpread even among the people who ſtill adhered to them. Upon all theſe accounts, it was no longer poſſible to lead and to govern their flock in the ſame manner as in thoſe dark and quiet ages, when faith was implicit, when ſubmiſſion was unreſerved, and all tamely followed and obeyed the voice of their ſhepherd. From the æra of the Reformation, the Popes have ruled rather by addreſs and management than by authority. The ſtile of their decrees is the ſame, but the effect of them is very different. Thoſe Bulls and Interdicts which, before the Reformation, made the greateſt Princes tremble, have ſince that period been diſregarded or deſpiſed by the moſt inconſiderable. Thoſe bold deciſions and acts of juriſdiction which, during many ages, not only paſſed uncenſured, but were revered as the awards of a ſacred tribunal, would, ſince Luther's appearance, be treated by one part of Europe as the effect of folly or arrogance, and be deteſted by the other as impious and unjuſt. The Popes, in their adminiſtration, have been obliged not only to accommodate themſelves to the notions of their adherents, but to pay ſome regard to the prejudices of their enemies. They ſeldom venture to claim new powers, or even to inſiſt obſtinately on their ancient prerogatives, leſt they ſhould irritate the former; they carefully avoid every meaſure that may either excite the indignation or draw on them the deriſion of the latter. The policy of the court of Rome has become as cautious, circumſpect, and timid, as it was once adventurous and violent; and though their pretenſions to infallibility, on which all their authority is founded, does not allow them to renounce any juriſdiction which they have

have at any time claimed or exerciſed, they find it expedient to ſuffer many of their prerogatives to lie dormant, and not to expoſe themſelves by ill-timed attempts towards reviving theſe, to the riſque of loſing that remainder of power which they ſtill enjoy. Before the ſixteenth century, the Popes were the movers and directors in every conſiderable enterprize; they were at the head of every great alliance; and being conſidered as arbiters of the affairs of Chriſtendom, the court of Rome was the centre of political negociation and intrigue. From that time, the greateſt operations in Europe have been carried on independant of them; they have ſunk almoſt to a level with the other petty Princes of Italy; they continue to claim, though they dare not exerciſe, the ſame ſpiritual juriſdiction, but ſcarce retain any ſhadow of the temporal power which they anciently poſſeſſed.

The Reformation contributed to improve the church both in ſcience and morals.

BUT how fatal ſoever the Reformation may have been to the power of the Popes, it contributed to improve the church of Rome both in ſcience and in morals. The deſire of equalling the reformers in thoſe talents which had procured them reſpect; the neceſſity of acquiring the knowledge requiſite for defending their own tenets, or refuting the arguments of their opponents; together with the emulation natural between two rival churches, engaged the Roman Catholic clergy to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of uſeful ſcience, which they cultivated with ſuch aſſiduity and ſucceſs, that they have gradually become as eminent in literature, as they were in ſome periods infamous for ignorance. The ſame principle occaſioned a change no leſs conſiderable in the manners of the clergy of the Romiſh church. Various cauſes which have formerly been enumerated, had concurred in introdu-

Book XII. cing great irregularity, and even diſſolution of manners among the Popiſh clergy. Luther and his adherents began their attack on the church with ſuch vehement invectives againſt theſe, that, in order to remove the ſcandal, and ſilence their declamations, greater decency of conduct became neceſſary. The Reformers themſelves were ſo eminent not only for the purity but even auſterity of their manners, and had acquired ſuch reputation among the people on that account, that the Roman Catholick Clergy muſt have ſoon loſt all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform in ſome meaſure to their ſtandard. They knew that all their actions fell under the ſevere inſpection of the Proteſtants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to obſerve every vice, or even impropriety in their conduct; to cenſure them without indulgence, and to expoſe them without mercy. This rendered them, of courſe, not only cautious to avoid ſuch enormities as might give offence, but ſtudious to acquire the virtues that might merit praiſe. In Spain and Portugal, where the tyrannical juriſdiction of the Inquiſition cruſhed the Proteſtant faith as ſoon as it appeared, the ſpirit of Popery continues invariable; ſcience has made ſmall progreſs, and the character of eccleſiaſtics has undergone little change. But in thoſe countries where the members of the two churches have mingled freely with each other, or have carried on any conſiderable intercourſe, either commercial or literary, an extraordinary alteration in the ideas as well as in the morals of the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics, is manifeſt. In France, the manners of the Dignitaries and ſecular clergy have become decent and exemplary in an high degree. Many of them have been diſtinguiſhed for all the accompliſhments and virtues which can adorn their profeſſion; and differ greatly from their pre-

-deceſſors

deceſſors before the Reformation, both in their maxims and in their conduct.

The effects of it extend to the character of the Popes themſelves.

NOR has the influence of the Reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Roman Catholick Church; it has extended to the See of Rome, to the ſovereign Pontiffs themſelves. Violations of decorum, and even treſpaſſes againſt morality, which paſſed without cenſure in thoſe ages, when neither the power of the Popes, nor the veneration of the people for their character, had any bounds; when there was no hoſtile eye to obſerve the errors in their conduct, and no adverſaries zealous to inveigh againſt them; would be liable now to the ſevereſt animadverſion, and excite general indignation or horror. Inſtead of rivalling the courts of temporal Princes in gaiety, and ſurpaſſing them in licentiouſneſs, the Popes have ſtudied to aſſume manners more ſevere and more ſuitable to their eccleſiaſtical character. The chair of St. Peter hath not been polluted, during two centuries, by any Pontiff that reſembled Alexander VI. or ſeveral of his predeceſſors, who were a diſgrace to religion and to human nature. Throughout this long ſucceſſion of Popes, a wonderful decorum of conduct, compared with that of preceding ages, is obſervable. Many of them have been conſpicuous for the virtues becoming their high ſtation; and by their humanity, their love of literature, and their moderation, have made ſome atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predeceſſors. Thus the beneficial influences of the Reformation have been more extenſive than they appear on a ſuperficial view; and this great diviſion in the Chriſtian church hath contributed, in ſome meaſure, to encreaſe purity of manners, to diffuſe ſcience, and to inſpire humanity. Hiſtory recites ſuch a number of ſhocking

Book XII. events, occaſioned by religious diſſenſions, that it muſt afford particular ſatisfaction to trace any one ſalutary or beneficial effect to that ſource, from which ſo many fatal calamities have flowed.

State of the republick of Venice.

THE republick of Venice which, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, had appeared ſo formidable, that almoſt all the potentates of Europe united in a confederacy for its deſtruction, declined gradually from its ancient power and ſplendour. The Venetians not only loſt a great part of their territory in the war excited by the league of Cambray, but the revenues as well as vigour of the ſtate were exhauſted by their extraordinary and long continued efforts in their own defence; and that commerce by which they had acquired their wealth and power began to decay, without any hopes of its reviving. All the fatal conſequences to their republick, which the ſagacity of the Venetian ſenate foreſaw on the firſt diſcovery of a paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, took place. Their endeavours to prevent the Portugueſe from eſtabliſhing themſelves in the Eaſt-Indies, not only by exciting the Soldans of Egypt and the Ottoman monarchs to turn their arms againſt ſuch dangerous intruders, but by affording ſecret aid to the Infidels in order to inſure their ſucceſs[z], proved ineffectual. The activity and valour of the Portugueſe ſurmounted every obſtacle, and obtained ſuch firm footing in that fertile country, as ſecured to them large poſſeſſions, together with influence ſtill more extenſive. Liſbon, inſtead of Venice, became the ſtaple for the precious commodities of the Eaſt. The Venetians, after having poſſeſſed for many years the monopoly of that beneficial commerce, had the mortification to be excluded

[z] Freher. Script. Rer. German. vol. ii. 529.

from

from almoſt any ſhare in it. The diſcoveries of the Spaniards in the weſtern world, proved no leſs fatal to inferior branches of their commerce. The original defects which were formerly pointed out in the conſtitution of the Venetian republick continued, and the diſadvantages with which it undertook any great enterprize, increaſed rather than diminiſhed. The ſources from which it derived its extraordinary riches and power being dried up, the interior vigour of the ſtate declined, and of courſe, rendered its external operations leſs formidable. Long before the middle of the ſixteenth century, Venice ceaſed to be one of the principal powers in Europe, and became a ſecondary and ſubaltern ſtate. But as the ſenate had the addreſs to conceal its diminution of power, under the veil of moderation and caution; as it made no raſh effort that could diſcover its impotence; as the ſymptoms of political decay in ſtates are not ſoon obſerved, and are ſeldom ſo apparent to their neighbours as to occaſion any ſudden alteration in their conduct towards them, Venice continued long to be conſidered and reſpected. She was treated not according to her preſent condition, but according to the rank which ſhe had formerly held. Charles, as well as the monarchs of France his rivals, courted her aſſiſtance with emulation and ſollicitude in all their enterprizes. Even down to the cloſe of the century, Venice remained not only an object of attention, but a conſiderable ſeat of political negociation and intrigue. Book XII.

THAT authority which the firſt Coſmo de Medici, and Lawrence, his grandſon, had acquired in the republick of Florence by their beneficence and abilities, inſpired their deſcendants with the ambition of uſurping the ſovereignty in their country, and paved their way towards it. Charles placed Alexander de Medici at the head of the republick, and to the natural intereſt and Of Tuſcany. A. D. 1530.

Book XII. power of the family added the weight and credit of the Imperial protection. Of theſe, his ſucceſſor Coſmo, ſirnamed the Great, availed himſelf; and eſtabliſhing his ſupreme authority on the ruins of the ancient republican conſtitution, he tranſmitted that, together with the title of Grand Duke of Tuſcany, to his deſcendants. Their dominions were compoſed of the territories which had belonged to the three commonwealths of Florence, Piſa, and Siena, and formed one of the moſt reſpectable of the Italian ſtates.

Of the dukes of Savoy.

The dukes of Savoy, during the former part of the ſixteenth century, poſſeſſed territories which were not conſiderable either for extent or value; and the French, having ſeized the greater part of them, obliged the reigning duke to retire for ſafety to the ſtrong fortreſs of Nice, where he ſhut himſelf up for ſeveral years; while his ſon, the Prince of Piedmont, endeavoured to better his fortune, by ſerving as an adventurer in the armies of Spain. The peace of Cateau Cambreſis reſtored to him his paternal dominions. As theſe are environed on every hand by powerful neighbours, all whoſe motions the dukes of Savoy muſt obſerve with the greateſt attention, in order not only to guard againſt the danger of being ſurprized and overpowered, but that they may chuſe their ſide with diſcernment in thoſe quarrels wherein it is impoſſible for them to avoid taking part, this peculiarity in their ſituation ſeems to have had no inconſiderable influence on their character. By rouzing them to perpetual attention, by keeping their ingenuity always on the ſtretch, and engaging them in almoſt continual action, it hath formed a race of Princes more ſagacious in diſcovering their true intereſt, more deciſive in their reſolutions, and more dextrous in availing themſelves of every occurrence which preſented itſelf, than any per-

haps that can be ſingled out in the hiſtory of mankind. By gradual acquiſitions the Dukes of Savoy have added to their territories as well as to their own importance; and aſpiring at length to regal dignity, which they obtained about half a century ago, they hold no inconſiderable rank among the monarchs of Europe. Book XII.

Of the United Provinces.

The territories which now form the republick of the united Netherlands, were loſt during the firſt part of the ſixteenth century, among the numerous provinces ſubject to the houſe of Auſtria; and were then ſo inconſiderable, that hardly one opportunity of mentioning them hath occurred in all the buſy period of this hiſtory. But ſoon after the peace of Cateau Cambreſis, the violent and bigoted maxims of Philip's government, carried into execution with unrelenting rigour by the duke of Alva, exaſperated the free-people of the Low-Countries to ſuch a degree, that they threw off the Spaniſh yoke, and aſſerted their ancient liberties and laws. Theſe they defended with a perſevering valour, which occupied the arms of Spain during half a century, exhauſted the vigour, ruined the reputation of that monarchy, and at laſt conſtrained their ancient maſters to recognize and to treat with them as a free independant ſtate. This ſtate, founded on liberty, and reared by induſtry and œconomy, had grown into reputation, even while ſtruggling for its exiſtence. But when peace and ſecurity allowed it to enlarge its views, and to extend its commerce, it roſe to be one of the moſt reſpectable as well as enterprizing powers in Europe.

The tranſactions of the kingdoms in the North of Europe, have been ſeldom attended to in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Russia

BOOK XII.

Of Ruſſia.

RUSSIA remained buried in that barbariſm and obſcurity, from which it was called about the beginning of the preſent century, by the creative genius of Peter the Great, who made his country known and formidable to the reſt of Europe.

Of Denmark and Sweden.

IN Denmark and Sweden, during the reign of Charles V. great revolutions happened in their conſtitutions, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical. In the former kingdom, a tyrant being degraded from the throne and expelled the country, a new Prince was called by the voice of the people to aſſume the reins of government. In the latter, a fierce people, rouzed to arms by injuries and oppreſſion, ſhook off the Daniſh yoke, and conferred the regal dignity on its deliverer Guſtavus Ericſon, who had all the virtues of a hero and of a patriot. Denmark, exhauſted by foreign wars, or weakened by the diſſenſions between the King and the nobles, became incapable of ſuch efforts as were requiſite in order to recover the aſcendant which it had long poſſeſſed in the North of Europe. Sweden, as ſoon as it was freed from the dominion of ſtrangers, began to recruit its ſtrength, and acquired in a ſhort time ſuch interior vigour, that it became the firſt kingdom in the North. Early in the ſubſequent century, it roſe to ſuch a high rank among the powers of Europe, that it had the chief merit both in forming and conducting that powerful league, which protected not only the Proteſtant religion, but the liberties of Germany againſt the bigotry and ambition of the houſe of Auſtria.

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